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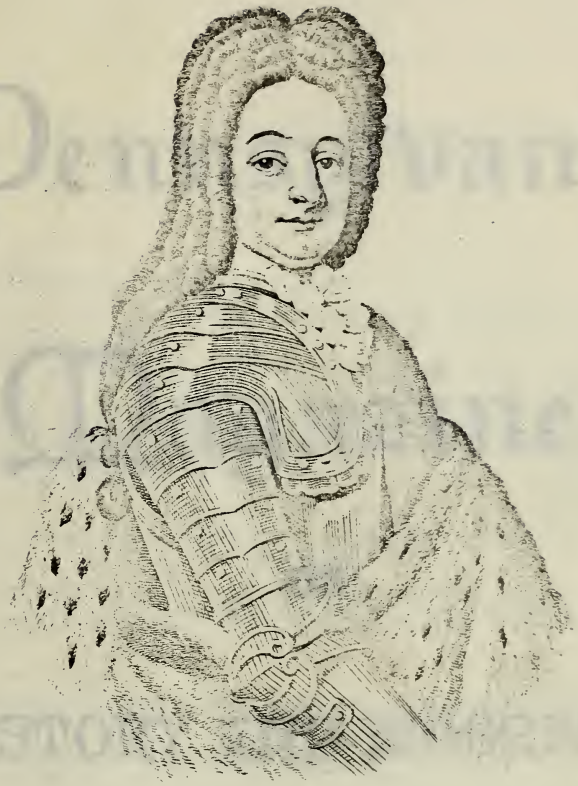

Sir William Keith, Bart.
Lieut. Gov: of Penna.

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THE

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OF

HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY.

Vol. XII. 1888. No. 1.

SIR WILLIAM KEITH.

BY CHARLES P. KEITH.

If a certain young printer of the year 1724 had not subsequently risen from obscurity, and become a greater personage in history than the grandiloquent baronet who then presided over Pennsylvania and Delaware, by whose notice he was flattered,—if, having gone to London in reliance upon the repeated but never fulfilled promises of this patron, that young printer, whose name was Benjamin Franklin, had been lost to fame, like many another victim of bad conduct, and the world had never seen his autobiography,—Sir William Keith, instead of being despised in this connection, would be extolled as the only Proprietary Governor who championed the rights of the People. That his words were not always true, that his debts were not always paid, that his treatment of the Penn family, or of his successor, or of James Logan was not always fair, would never have interfered. Even his advocacy of the taxation of America by Parliament, so long before the excitement upon the subject, would have been charitably regarded as

an error of opinion. Moreover, how much soever he may have deserved the animadversions of some writers, we may be indulged with the reflection, that, had he left descendants in Pennsylvania, less would have been published against his memory, and perhaps more have been said in his favor. He was the greatest of the Lieutenant-Governors under the Penns. His administration, too, after witnessing the depression of the colony, inaugurated a prosperity which in time made Philadelphia the largest city in America. It is not our aim to exculpate his character: as to the Franklin episode, which has thrown suspicion upon all else that he did, even if he had intended to help Benjamin through Mrs. Penn and the mortgagees, and had been prevented by the quarrel over the instructions, which occurred during the preparation to sail, or if Sir William had found out more about the future philosopher, who was far from being a nice young man,—it was reprehensible not to let the change of purpose be known. Having been requested to prepare an article to accompany the picture of Sir William, we would put in print some information chiefly as to his career before and after his residence in Pennsylvania. In the first place, it is not too trivial to notice, that while, in English law, a baronet is not a nobleman, yet, as such, and even as the eldest son and expectant heir of one, Keith had a distinction above all his predecessors and successors in office (George Thomas not being so created until after his term expired), as well as above all the colonists of that time. William Penn, and after his death certain of his descendants, down to the Declaration of Independence, were the titular Governors, and those intrusted with the administration were only his or their Lieutenants, or Deputies; for which reason, and the small salary allowed to them, their position was not an attractive one to Englishmen of mark. While a cousin of the sovereign, a viscount, a general, an admiral, etc., sometimes performed similar duties in neighboring colonies directly under the Crown, nearly all of our chief magistrates were provincials or inferior military officers, and the subject of this sketch was the only one who outranked the

Penns in social precedency in the Old World. Keith was descended from the great feudal family of that name, the head of which, for about six hundred years, was Marischal to the King of Scotland, in ancient times sitting with the Constable at the monarch's right hand in the Parliament. In the fourteenth century, John Keith, younger son of Edward, the Marischal, married the heiress of Reginald Cheyne, Chamberlain of Scotland, and so acquired the barony of Innerugie, within which Peterhead now stands, and which made his descendants a powerful line. The subject of this sketch was one of the Keiths of Ludquhairn, sprung from Andrew Keith, who received that estate in 1492 from his father, Sir Gilbert Keith, then Lord of Innerugie. I have a copy of the pedigree prepared in 1760 by the Lion King at Arms for our Lieutenant-Governor's son. It is in Latin, and quite lengthy, quoting charters and other authorities; so that it cannot be embodied in this article. Suffice it to say that in 1629 Sir William Keith of Ludquhairn was created a baronet of Nova Scotia, and that his grandson, Sir William, the third baronet, married Jean, daughter and heiress of Smith of Rapness, her mother being a daughter of Patrick Graham of Inchbraikie. The Lieutenant-Governor of Pennsylvania was the son of the third baronet and his lady, and was born probably at Peterhead, where he was baptized February 16, 1680 (doubtless within a few weeks after his birth). The witnesses to his baptism were John, Earl of Erroll, and William Jameson of Balmoore. The latter may have been a relative, Balmoore, or Balmuir, having belonged to an Alexander Keith about fifty years before. The Earl of Erroll appears to have been a distant relative, his grandmother having been a daughter of Sir Patrick Cheyne of Essilmount; which estate came to the Keith family before the days of the first baronet of Ludquhairn. The Earl married the sister of that Earl of Perth who was one of the twenty-four Proprietors of East Jersey. With the three Earls, Erroll, Perth, and Marischal (head of the Keith family, and son-in-law of Perth), all of them attached to the old *régime*,

Sir William, the father of our Lieutenant-Governor, was intimate. From a letter of the Earl of Perth to his sister, dated June 17, 1694 (see Correspondence, published by Camden Society), we learn that the Earl Marischal, going to England, had left his property to this kinsman's management, and the Earl of Perth says, "Tell Sir William Keith (whose Scot I am and to all his family) that I hope he will be carefull of my Lord's concerns in his absence." This baronet, perhaps by his endeavors to add to the family estates, sank heavily in debt, so that at his death his creditors, in the phraseology of Scotch law, "came to a ranking." Thus his heir was dependent upon public office or his wits for support. The mother of Lady Jean Keith married for her second husband Sir Robert Moray, Kt., of Abercairny, and by him had several sons, who were thus step-uncles of the subject of this sketch. The eldest married a sister of Dr. Thomas Græme, who came to Pennsylvania with Keith. Two others became active workers in the cause of the Stuarts, one being also a lieutenant-colonel in the French service.

It would seem that through these step-uncles William Keith was sent over to St. Germain as a very young man, and there finished his education, acquiring at least a knowledge of the world and the arts of address. He was about twenty-three years of age when, Bishop Burnett ("History of his Own Times") says, "Keith had been long at that court, he had free access both to that queen and prince, and hoped they would have made him under secretary for Scotland. His uncle, too, had visited St. Germain's, was one of those most trusted there, and had been sent with Fraser to ascertain the temper of the Scotch," Fraser having reported the Highlanders ready to raise twelve thousand men in the Pretender's interest if French troops and money were sent to their assistance. From some particulars mentioned in Tindal's "Continuation of Rapin's History of England," Keith appears to have been in London in the winter of 1702–3, when Fraser was there in treaty with the Jacobites.

Fraser had revealed the plot to the Duke of Queensberry,

endeavoring to criminate the Duke of Athol, and went back to St. Germain as a spy. Athol's friends discovered this, and precipitated an investigation. Fraser's correspondence was seized, and Keith and others arrested. For some time he denied that he knew anything, but afterwards confessed that he had been made acquainted with Fraser's mission to the Scotch nobility. He then undertook to induce his uncle to come and tell all he knew, and said there was no other design than to arrange that the Prince of Wales should reign after Queen Anne. Burnett adds that there was "matter of treason" sworn against Keith, but there was only one witness to it. John Moray, the uncle in question, never appeared, and the House of Lords voted that Keith had prevaricated, and was unworthy of the Queen's mercy. Burnett thought, from the ill-management of the attempt to obtain Moray's testimony, that the investigators did not sincerely wish it. Keith's narrative, which had been kept back to await the result of his negotiations with his uncle, was laid before both Houses of Parliament on February 19, 1703–4, says Luttrell's "Brief Relation of State Affairs," and the Lords appointed a committee to examine him. On April 6 he was set at liberty on condition not to depart from England without leave. He seems never again to have been molested on account of the affair, but to have earned a claim for consideration by the Jacobites when they should come to power. He married an Englishwoman, not very long after his discharge from arrest, as appears from his son Alexander, who was not his eldest, being old enough in May, 1729, to be appointed Collector of Customs. The lady's maiden name had been Ann Newbury or Newberry; she was the widow of Robert Diggs, and her daughter by her first husband was born at St. Albans in 1700. This daughter married Dr. Thomas Græme after the family came to Pennsylvania.

Of Keith's career, or even his residence at and for some time after his marriage, we are ignorant. He did not practice law, or he never would have spoken, as he did when establishing his Court of Chancery, of his "want

of experience in judicial affairs;" nor would he have made his rulings as Chancellor dependent upon the approbation of any of the laymen in the Provincial Council. After his appointment as Lieutenant-Governor he was sometimes spoken of as "Colonel" Keith, but we do not believe that this indicates previous service in the British army,—we conjecture that the title accompanied his right to command the militia of the Province,—nearly every colonial Governor at a certain period being so called. In his "Defence of the Constitution of the Province of Pennsylvania" he says that he "had the honour to be personally and intimately acquainted" with William Penn "for above seven years, just after his last return to England from Pennsylvania." Logan, in a letter of 2 mo. 27, 1716, speaks of the friendship. There is no unfairness in saying that Penn was a Jacobite, and that political sympathy probably brought him and Keith together at the time the latter arrived in England from France. It must have been in the year 1710 that they were separated, probably by Keith removing from England either to Scotland, which had become part of the same kingdom, or beyond sea upon some public employment which authorized him to transport himself; a supposition which derives some likelihood from his composing afterwards an essay on the office of an ambassador. He seems to have been a friend of William Penn, Jr., who, according to Gordon's "History of Pennsylvania," recommended him for the Lieutenant-Governorship.

Keith was appointed Surveyor-General of the Customs for the Southern Division of America in place of Colonel Robert Quary, deceased, and sailing from England in June, 1714, arrived in Virginia on the 17th of August following. Upon the first notice of the accession of George I. he took the oath of allegiance to him before the Governor and Chancellor of Maryland, where Keith happened to be; and going through Virginia, Maryland, and Pennsylvania, caused the officers under him to do the same. In the winter he went to Jamaica, the voyage taking a month, and after four months' stay, recovered eight thousand pounds sterling for

the Crown,—a debt of nine years' standing. In June, 1715, in a small sloop which took three weeks to go from that island to South Carolina, he returned to the continent of North America. Discharging his duties with zeal and efficiency, he was, without any cause being assigned, deprived of his office by the appointment of a successor. The battle of Sheriff Muir, which left the new king in possession of the throne, took place in November, 1715. James Logan, some years later, speaks of the battle and a closet, apparently a refuge after the battle, having given Thomas Græme a claim upon Keith. Keith's kinsman, the young Earl Marischal, may have hid at the Græme seat, Balgowan, before leaving Scotland, with a price upon his head, losing his title by attainder. At the same time the commander of King George's army, John, second Duke of Argyll, was a friend of the subject of this sketch. The latter, after his removal from the Surveyor-Generalship, visiting Penn's dominions, and becoming aware of the great dissatisfaction with Gookin's administration, saw in the Lieutenant-Governorship and in the Governorship, when the sale to the Crown should be consummated, a future provision for himself; while the principal inhabitants turned to him as a politician upon whom they might impose the task of delivering them from Gookin. Much being afterwards said about their having taken pity on Keith, the "Just and Plain Vindication of Sir William Keith," printed in 1726, and attributed to himself, declares that he did not make his circumstances at that time known to any man in Pennsylvania, and was "so far from thinking of that employment" that he had actually gone as far as New Castle on his way towards Virginia when he received a letter from two of the Council asking him to return and hear their proposals. Logan's letter of 2 mo. 27, 1716, says that a confidential messenger was sent by Keith from New Castle to the Council in Philadelphia, and conveys the impression that by this means Keith made the first proposal. Those Councillors who were in town at the time met and unanimously concurred, "having from his first appearance here, generally entertained a very favour-

able opinion of his good sense, sweetness of disposition, and moderation in his former post." Keith returned to Philadelphia, and his "Vindication" says they offered their recommendation to the Proprietary's family, if he would undertake to obtain the office, and gave him twenty-four hours to consider it. Their letter to Hannah Penn recommending him is dated 2 mo. 27, 1716. It was feared, however, that Keith might be suspected by the King's Ministers, whose approval of the appointment would be necessary, of disaffection to the House of Brunswick. The prudent Logan asked Keith not to show the letter outside of the circle of Penn's friends, lest, should the person recommended be rejected as a Jacobite, some disadvantage might come to the signers. Gookin was ready to impute such political views to them; Logan says, "Than which nothing can be more false. But as these distinctions cannot affect us who want nothing but peace under the Crown of England, and have no power either to advance or retard any interest, all our views, or rather wishes, are to have a person over us who may truly pursue the Interest of the Country." Counting upon his influence with the Duke of Argyll and others to smooth the way at Court, Keith went to England to obtain the appointment as Lieutenant-Governor from Penn or those who controlled him, and confirmation from the Crown.

Upon his arrival, he found no opposition in Penn's family, but the "Just and Plain Vindication," hereinafter mentioned, declares, and it sounds probable, that

"it was above Three Months before he could reconcile to his Proposal a Set of grave Politicians that went under the Name of Mortgagees, tho' in Reality they were only plain Shop-keepers in the City of London, and creditors to Mr. Penn, who had pledg'd his Estate in Pensilvania for securing the Payment of his Debts to them; Now some of those Gentlemen affecting much Grandeur, by having it in their Power to dispose of one of his Majesty's Provinces abroad, it was not more Trouble to find Access to a first Minister of State, and far less difficult to persuade him, than it was to find an Opportunity of Reasoning with, and Convincing some of these Gentlemen. However, after a

reasonable Time spent in good comfortable Eating and Drinking, (after the Manner of the City) at Sir William's proper Cost and Charge, he found Means to sooth the Gentlemen into an unanimous compliance with his Design."

The Assembly of Pennsylvania had adopted on May 3, 1716, an Address to King George, expressing joy at his accession, apologizing for not congratulating him sooner, and speaking with horror of the "unnatural" rebellion, for the suppression of which they thanked God. Keith undertook the presentation of this,—a matter of considerable expense,—and finally obtaining an interview with the Prince Regent, the King being in Hanover, received the assurance that the Quakers were looked upon as loyal subjects, that the King had a great regard for them, and that they might at all times depend on the Prince's good will to serve them in anything they had to ask of his Royal Father.

A letter signed by William Penn "with the advice and consent of his Friends and Trustees under written,"—viz., Henry Gouldney, Silvanus Grove, and Joshua Gee,—was addressed to the Prince of Wales, Guardian of the Realm, certifying that Penn nominated and appointed William Keith to be Lieutenant-Governor of Pennsylvania. "The said Keith having been well recommended as a Person who has lately given evident Proofs of his Capacity and Zeal in the King's Service as well as of his dutiful Affection to the Present Government." With this Keith danced attendance upon the great Lords of the Privy Council and the officers of state. In a letter in possession of the Historical Society, he writes from Hampton Court, September 10, 1716: "I have been here ten days waiting for the opportunity of a General Council which I find we are not to expect befor next Thursday, & then I hope to give you the good news of success, if the statesmen will be true to what they have promised & frankly undertaken to do for me in that affair. The Prince has been acquainted with the business, and I have not yet been able to discover one enemy to oppose it." The Council meeting on the 13th, the subject was referred to the Lords Commissioners for Trade and

Plantations. On the 16th, Messrs. Perry and Hyde—the former being, we suppose, Micajah Perry, afterwards a correspondent of Keith—offered to go his security. A letter from Keith dated September 22, says, "I have had all the success in my business which I could possibly expect but people are so much out of Town at this time of the year, that I daily meet with unavoidable delays, however I am assured that the Board of Trade will meet next wedensday, and my interest is now so much stronger than it was, that I hope to get things despatched with all convenient speed, & without any difficulty." The statement of his case was communicated to the Board on September 27, and read on October 16, when the Board agreed upon a favorable report, with the provisos that he give the usual security for observing the Acts of Trade and Navigation, and that William Penn renew his declaration that the King's approbation of the appointment should not impair his Majesty's claim to the Lower Counties. Penn signed a paper to this effect on October 25. The report of the Board of Trade was approved at a meeting of the Privy Council held at St. James on November 12, and, security being duly entered, the appointment was confirmed on December 17. Hannah Penn writes, "Collonel Keith has obtained his approbation by so general a consent that whatever becomes of proprietary government, we think he will be continued over you if his conduct answer his character. His obtaining the post and removing his large family have been no small expense to him." Keith himself wished to impress upon the Assembly in his first speech "the diligence wherewith I obtained at a considerable charge the commission of Governour." He borrowed one hundred pounds of Henry Gouldney, giving him his bond dated March 13, 1716, for the payment of that sum on the 14th of September following. It was proved by a witness in April, 1724, and sent over to Philadelphia, and recorded. On Keith's embarkation for America, his family consisted of a wife and three sons, besides his step-daughter, Miss Diggs. At sea his wife gave birth to another son, who was baptized

in Christ Church, Philadelphia. The party were in great danger from pirates; some of those troubling the coast, learning that a Lieutenant-Governor was expected, tried hard to fall in with the ship.

He landed at Philadelphia on the 31st of May, 1717, and entered upon the task of pleasing three masters: the Proprietary, who had appointed him, the King, who had confirmed the appointment, and was in treaty for the Proprietary's powers, and the People, who were to contribute the salary.

With the rare advantage of previous acquaintance with the people and their neighbors, Keith comprehended from the first the internal condition and the external relations of the colony, and he dealt with both with a political sagacity worthy to be called statesmanship. His many journeys even in the heat of summer indicate his energy. By urbanity, by the expression of admirable sentiments, and, to some extent, by living in greater style than his predecessors, he secured popularity. By boldly notifying the ex-Lieutenant-Governor to make good his charge that Logan and others were disaffected to King George, he obtained a retraction, and so dissipated a trouble, the possible consequences of which were far-reaching. Had the accusation been allowed to remain, the enemies of Logan in the Assembly might have passed an act disqualifying him from holding office, and Keith with his antecedents could not have afforded to veto it; had the ex-Lieutenant-Governor addressed certain public men in England upon the subject, the British Ministry would have had a good reason for taking the government from William Penn without compensation, and, perhaps, the cupidity of royal favorites would have brought about by bill of attainder the confiscation of his property in the soil. Although an active vestryman of Christ's Church until a new minister thought him too officious (see Perry's "Historical Collections relating to Church in Pennsylvania"), and joining in the request for a bishop in America (see Dr. Dorr's "History of Christ Church") although when first going to Sussex County to hold court

he took with him the missionary at New Castle, who, as Humphreys's "History of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel" recounts, baptized at least one hundred and sixteen persons on the trip; nevertheless, in striking contrast with other Lieutenant-Governors, Keith was duly considerate of Quaker feelings and privileges. His predecessor, denying the qualification in capital cases of jurymen who would not take oaths, had allowed two murderers to go unpunished, to continue in lawless conduct, and even to boast that the Province could not try them for a capital crime. Keith had them indicted by a grand inquest, of which seventeen were upon affirmation, and brought them to trial before a jury containing eight Quakers, he himself attending the court, and making a speech, and satisfying himself that the proceedings were fair to the accused, and according to the law. They were convicted and sentenced to death; and although they asked for a reprieve to enable them to appeal to the King, Keith said that the Constitution of the Province must be maintained, and declined to interfere with the execution. Subsequently, he prepared for the Assembly an address to the King setting forth the necessity of allowing the use of an affirmation instead of an oath.

Once in the Court of Chancery the hat of a Quaker lawyer was taken off his head by an officer. This caused a remonstrance from the Quarterly Meeting, and the Lieutenant-Governor then made an order that thenceforth all persons who had religious scruples against uncovering their heads could wear their hats in court. He accepted, too, from the Mennonites as equivalent to the oaths of allegiance assurances given according to their own custom; and he vetoed a bill requiring applicants for naturalization to produce a certificate that they were Protestants. He was obliged to exert himself against John Talbot and Robert Welton, who came to Pennsylvania during the last two years of his administration after being consecrated to the order of bishop by one or more bishops of non-juring succession. Each for a short time conducted the services at Christ Church, fol-

lowing the non-jurors' practice of omitting the proper name in the prayer for the King. According to a letter of Rev. John Umston in Perry's Collections, Talbot convened all the clergy, put on his robes, and demanded obedience from them. The churches in America were at that time deemed a part of the jurisdiction of the Bishop of London. Some persons threatened the Lieutenant-Governor with reporting the matter in England if he did not take measures against Talbot, whereupon the Lieutenant-Governor ordered Christ Church to be shut up. It was charged against him that he showed his sympathy for Jacobites by having the marriage of his daughter-in-law performed by Dr. Welton. A writ of privy seal commanding the latter to return forthwith to Great Britain was sent over to Keith for service, and caused Dr. Welton to take passage by way of Lisbon, at which place he died.

No less than with the King's Ministers or the Quaker democracy, Keith ingratiated himself with the Indians, one of whose chiefs said that there had not been for years past a governor who took such notice of them, and they felt the same satisfaction as if William Penn himself were among them. He explained to them the ideas of civilization, and laid down the principle that a treaty of friendship with one English colony was a treaty of peace not only with the other English colonies, but also with the Indian tribes friendly with them. On the death of a near kinsman of Sacauncheuta, Sir William sent a mourning-ring off his own finger to that chief. He made it penal to sell or give rum, wine, or other strong liquors to an Indian, except the small quantity of a sixteenth of a quart once in twelve hours at a person's own dwelling, and except what the officials might see fit to give on the occasion of a treaty.

He conciliated the settlers of foreign descent, and warded off the Marylanders, and entering into conferences with neighboring Governors, raised Pennsylvania to greater consideration. Doubtless, his intercourse with these Governors made him shrink from admitting, the more so after his succession in 1721 to the baronetcy, that, while they had

no superior but the King, he was under a Quaker woman. He flattered himself that at least as to New Castle, Kent, and Sussex he was Governor, and he rather treated them as a distinct Province.

He encouraged immigration, although he endeavored to regulate it. A number of Germans who had sought a home first on the Livingston Manor in New York, and then at Schoharie, but were made most unwelcome and uneasy, were invited by him to the frontier of Pennsylvania. In 1723 thirty-three families, therefore, settled at Tulpehocken. This was resented by the Proprietaries as an interference by him in the affairs of their property. It was the beginning of a movement which took from New York, and added to Pennsylvania a considerable body of people, and seems to have been in pursuance of a policy to develop the borders.

Nearly every other Governor, or acting Governor, was in constant trouble with the Assembly. He avoided this by evincing an appreciation of their designs, and a willingness to yield such points as they had most at heart. As the result, he secured a higher salary than his predecessors, and, moreover, the adoption of his own propositions. Logan writes on April 12, 1722: "to me, who for many years had so great a Share of the trouble arising from our Confusions formerly thrown upon me, it can not but be a great Ease & Pleasure to see all affairs of Governm^t carried on without the least Division or Opposition. . . . The Govern^r is a very able Gentleman, excellently well qualified for a public Post and his failings have mostly been to his own loss & of those who have trusted him in Money Matters." Later, when, after Keith's acquisition of the copper-mine, it was reported that Gookin would be again appointed Lieutenant-Governor, Logan expresses his preference for Keith, whom he describes as "an ingenious man with many failings;" and adds, "for the Governm^t really requires a disposition more generous than is to be met with in all tempers and kinds of education."

An excellent account of Keith's administration will be found in Gordon's "History of Pennsylvania," taking the

same side, and giving Keith the same credit, as the "Historical Review of the Constitution and Government of Pennsylvania," prepared under the auspices of Benjamin Franklin, who was too great a man to allow the treatment of himself to interfere with his estimate of action concerning his country. Against the encomium which Keith has thus received, Mr. Joshua Francis Fisher, with the assistance of Mrs. Deborah Logan, has written articles, published in the Memoirs of the Historical Society and in "Hazard's Register," derived mainly from the papers of the opposing coterie. Sir William cast in his lot with the multitude against the few, the poor against the rich, the debtor against the creditor. Whether he was right or wrong was the political question of that time. With one of Mr. Fisher's articles there has been printed a "Narrative of Sr W. Keith's coming to the Govt of Pennsylvania and his Conduct in it &ct," attributed to Andrew Hamilton, but including, as the manuscript shows, some notes by Thomas Penn. Some of its statements we are able to elucidate, if not to deprive of their force. It was in the following way that he got into his hands the fund "which belonged to his Majesty." When, in Queen Anne's time, the Assembly of the Quaker Province were induced to aid the expedition against Canada by voting two thousand pounds,—professed to be not for the war, but "for the Queen's use,"—it was provided that the Governor's receipt should be the voucher for the Treasurer. The expedition failing, nearly the whole amount remained a charge against Samuel Carpenter, then Treasurer, until his death. On November 12, 1717, Lieutenant-Governor Keith asked the opinion of the Council whether he should not call upon the executors of the late Treasurer for the money or an account, and the Council agreed that he should. Subsequently a large sum was paid to him, and, as the equivalent of five hundred pounds, there were conveyed to him by deed of March 5, 1718, from Andrew Hamilton, who had just taken title from the executors, twelve hundred acres of land in Philadelphia County, bounded on the northeast by the line of Bucks County. Whether Keith ever expended as much money as

this for public purposes we are unable to show. His "Just and Plain Vindication" says that he fitted out two sloops against the pirates, and erected a battery of cannon, besides doing "the decent honors of the government on the King's birthday and other festivals; and Logan's answer, entitled "A More Just Vindication," does not deny this. The acquisition of the copper-mine, situated within the present limits of York County, was by virtue of an unlocated right. Keith said that it was advisable that the place should be occupied, as the Marylanders were advancing towards it: it seems to have yielded him no return. The survey of seventy-five thousand five hundred and twenty acres adjoining it, as a manor for Springett Penn, who claimed the powers of government, which survey was the one referred to in the narrative as entered upon the records of the Council, provided a reservation for the Indians, and a delimited march, or belt of land, in face of the Marylanders. The claim to be directly under the Crown, which Keith made, styling himself Governor, was defensible: it could be said that the right of William Penn had become vested in the Crown by the agreement of sale and the payment of part of the purchase-money, and, as far as the Lower Counties were concerned, it was doubtful whether Penn ever had any right. The suppression of the powers which had been exercised by the Council was necessary for the carrying out of any policy, since they made it possible for three or four members of a body not recognized by the Constitution to obstruct every step desired by the Assembly, or thought wise by the Lieutenant-Governor. This was particularly unreasonable, because such a Cabinet was irresponsible, and such an Upper House represented neither the people, nor even a caste or an order. Yet Hannah Penn wrote to him to pass no laws without its concurrence, and not only this, but to send no message, and make no speech to the Assembly, without submitting the same for approval of these persons, to add nobody to the Council without the consent of the other members, and furthermore, if any had been so added, to suspend them until the others chose to

admit them. Keith refused to be bound in this way; he, not James Logan and friends, would be Governor. In the pamphlet war which followed the disclosure of Hannah Penn's instructions,—instructions to which no man of spirit would have willingly submitted,—Keith ably maintained their illegality in a "Defence of the Constitution of the Province of Pennsylvania and the late honourable Proprietary's Character in Answer to James Logan's Memorial &c." This, as well as his letter to Hannah Penn, is printed with the Votes of Assembly. As to the charge of betraying the interests of the Penn family, it should be remembered that while Logan was away from the Council, Keith sent back a tax bill to the Assembly, proposing an amendment, that the Proprietary's estate be exempted, and secured this immunity, for which subsequent Governors contended in vain. For the other articles published during the controversy the reader is referred to Hildeburn's "Issues of the Pennsylvania Press." If the reader is disposed to say that the Lieutenant-Governor was bound in honor to follow the instructions, he should bear in mind that they emanated from the executrix of a disputed will, and not from either Springett Penn, who claimed the Governorship as heir-at-law, or Earl Pawlett, the surviving devisee, in trust to make sale, or from the King, to whom the franchise had been sold.

Sir William Keith, in his "Discourse on the Medium of Commerce," says that in 1722 over two hundred houses in the City of Philadelphia stood empty, and many of the laboring people daily were leaving, the shopkeepers had no money to go to market, and the farmer's crop was at the lowest value, so that all European goods, as well as bread, flour, and country produce, were monopolized by four or five rich men, who retailed them at what price they pleased, and had the whole country in their debt at eight per cent. interest. This raised such a clamor that the Assembly, which met at the end of that year, authorized the issuing of paper-money. Instead of following the method of other colonies, by taxing the people to provide a sinking fund, they issued the bills as

a loan upon landed security, to be repaid in annual instalments, with five per cent. interest. Certain persons appointed by the Assembly, styled Commissioners of the Loan Office, attended to this, lending, according to the Act of 1723, not more than two hundred pounds, nor less than twenty pounds, to any person, and taking his bond and a mortgage of land double the amount in value. Keith adds that the five per cent. interest paid to the Province was sufficient to defray the expense of government without laying any tax on the people. That an excise, customs, and county rates continued to be levied was chiefly because the Province itself and the counties borrowed a large part of the first issue to pay previous indebtedness and erect public buildings, and undertook, like individuals, to return the amount in instalments. The duty on negroes imported was not for revenue only. Keith had not the merit of originating this means of discouraging slavery, but, by re-enacting it, facilitated the subsequent extension of "free soil" to Mason and Dixon's line. Sir William thus closes his Discourse:

"It is inconceivable to think what a prodigious good Effect immediately ensued. . . . The Shiping from the West of England, Scotland, and Ireland, which just before used to be detain'd five, six, and sometimes nine Months in the Country, before they could get in the Debts due to them and load, were now dispatch'd in a Month or six Weeks at farthest. The poor middling People, who had any Lands . . . paid off their usurious creditors: . . . lawful Interest was at this Time [by Act of Mch. 2, 1722–3] reduced from eight to six *per Cent.* by which means the Town was soon filled with People, and Business all over the Province increased at a great rate: The few rich Men . . . were obliged to build Ships, and launch out again into Trade, in order to convert their Paper Riches into solid Wealth; and for some Years, while that Province continued to have only a moderate Sum in Paper Money on foot, it kept an Equality with *Spanish* Silver and Gold, or did not fall above five *per Cent.* for as Lands there generally rise in their Value, and are in continual Demand, the Security was unquestionably as good, if not better, than any that is given in *Europe* for Paper; and this most useful Scheme was not attended with any other ungrateful Consequence, but the Removal of a

Governor who, contrary to the Sentiments and private Interest of a few rich Men in that Place, had passed it into a Law." . . .

If Keith was the inventor of this plan, providing a circulating medium, representing lands put under the control of the State, and running a government without taxation, not by borrowing money, but by lending it, he was a greater financier than many a man who has derived fame from the restoration of national credit.

It was a point in Keith's favor that he had come to the colony with, as far as we can tell, the intention of making it his home, had brought up his children there, and in the investment of money had staked his interests upon its prosperity. It was not only by obligations undertaken on or before receiving office, nor by lavish expenditure continued while the Assembly diminished and delayed his salary, that he was always in debt; he launched out in business ventures in which his money and reputation were wrecked. His projects, had they been successful, not only would have lifted him out of those necessities which were the spring of his ignoble conduct, but would have aided the development of the country. Before he dug for copper on the Susquehanna, he started the erection of a grist-mill at Horsham. We doubt that he was a hypocrite in saying to the Assembly in January, 1721–22,—

"My mind is so fully bent upon doing this Province some effectual Service that I have lately formed the Design of a considerable Settlement amongst you, in order to manufacture and consume the Grain, for which there is, at this Time, no profitable Market Abroad. And although this Project will, doubtless, at first prove very chargeable and expensive to me, yet if it meets with your Approbation, and the Goodwill of the People, I am well assured it cannot fail of answering my Purpose, to do a real Service to the Country; and every Interest or Concern of mine shall ever be built on that Bottom."

The Assembly evinced its willingness to legislate for this industry by passing an act to prevent the exportation of inferior flour, and an act to require the making of beer and

ale from grain instead of molasses, etc. On April 6, 1723, he requested the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel to continue Rev. Mr. Harrison in the Province to minister to a new congregation at Horsham, where, he says, he had lately made "a considerable settlement," and the people were attending every Sunday to hear prayers read by a layman. During the last two or three years of his residence in it he carried on an iron-works in New Castle County. The investigations of Mr. Swank, the historian of the "Manufacture of Iron in all Ages," have brought to light none earlier in Delaware, although the existence of iron there was known even to the Dutch. Alexander Spotswood, previously Governor of Virginia, came to New Castle in September, 1724, on his way to New York to embark for England, and spent about a week with Sir William, appreciating his feelings in regard to Mrs. Penn's instructions, and undertaking to be his champion in London. Spotswood was very enthusiastic about iron, and may have prompted Sir William to engage in its manufacture. Spotswood's visit to Philadelphia in October, 1722, was followed by the latter's purchase, by deed of October 29, of two hundred and sixteen acres one hundred and thirty-six perches of land lying along Christiana Creek, and including part of "the iron hills," and his subsequent sojourn with Sir William was prior to his erection of the furnace which Swedenborg's "De Ferro," published in 1734, quoted by Mr. Swank, says was in 1725. The "Just and Plain Vindication of Sir William Keith," published about the middle of 1726, says that he had laid out not only two thousand pounds on a farm, but "4000*l.* in another Place; where, by Erecting an Iron-Work, it is improved to near double the prime Cost, and this last Estate, Sir William all along, design'd as a Security to his Creditors, until they were fully satisfy'd and paid," while the "More Just Vindication" answers that scarcely any one would take the works as a gift, if obliged to maintain them. Sir William, having increased his estate in New Castle County to about eleven hundred acres, conveyed it, in February, 1726–27, to John England, in pursuance of an

agreement, as we find from a legal opinion by Andrew Hamilton, that England was to erect sundry works for carrying on the making of pigs and bar-iron, if sufficient ore could be found, and Sir William was then to have one-sixth of the land and works; but if sufficient ore could not be obtained, England was to reconvey, being first repaid. The opinion says that when the agreement was made there was a small forge on the land. It turned out that the mine of ore was on the land of John Evans, near by. It was said he had agreed to sell to Sir William, but he denied this; so England claimed four hundred and seventy-three pounds six shillings seven pence, and the land seems to have remained in his possession to satisfy the debt. As to the land which Keith took from the Carpenters, and which is generally spoken of as "Græme Park," much has been written by Mr. William J. Buck, and, with many facts relating to its occupants, can be found in the "History of Montgomery County," edited by Bean.

Mr. William Henry Rawle, in his "Equity in Pennsylvania," has treated of the Court of Chancery which Keith established. It remains for us to call attention to the laws which he passed. The number of acts of Assembly during his term was seventy-five, and but few were repealed by the King. That allowing the wives of persons at sea to act as *femme sole* traders has remained in force to the present day, a notable monument of a Governor who flourished so long ago. It was one of those before him when he told the Councillors that their assent was not necessary. On the same day provision was made for a work-house, or house of correction, in each county. Of the other acts of the same Assembly (October, 1717–May, 1718), the most important was that for the trial and punishment of felony, which in the main continued to be the criminal code of Pennsylvania until after the Revolution. One, however, perhaps more interesting, empowered the justices to fix the price of liquor in taverns, and also of provender for horses in public stables, said prices to be proclaimed at the end of the session of the court by the

crier, and to be posted upon the court-house door. At this time no one was allowed to keep a tavern or house of public entertainment without a license granted upon the recommendation of the justices of the county, or, if in the city, of its court of record, and the person so licensed could be punished for permitting drunkenness or unlawful games. In 1721 tavern-keepers were required to give bonds for good behavior, and were prohibited from harboring minors or servants, from selling on credit to such, and from selling without special license to negro or Indian servants. An act of 1722 provided for the licensing of ale-houses, where wine or distilled spirits were not to be sold. All these restrictions upon the liquor business remained in force until the present century, as well as certain rules for tanning, currying, and other work in leather, and for the price of shoes. In order to sell wine or liquor within two miles of any furnace or iron-works, an act of March 5, 1725–26, made necessary a recommendation from a majority of the owners of the works. Almost as notable as the *femme sole* traders' act was that of February 24, 1720–21, which, in the language of Chief Justice Read (21 Penna. St. Rep., 127), "laid the foundation of the Pennsylvania system of party-walls, a great and radical improvement upon the principles of the common law as expounded by the English courts and those of Massachusetts and New York." The act provided that the city government should appoint surveyors or regulators, who should, before any foundation be laid in Philadelphia, set out the foundation and prescribe the thickness of the wall, said foundation to be laid equally upon the lands which the wall was to divide, and the builder of the wall should be reimbursed half of the expense, to be ascertained by the regulators, of so much as the builder of the adjoining house should use. Chief Justice Read says, "This common-sense legislation was far in advance of that of the mother-country." It was under a law passed by Keith on August 26, 1721, that during the past year (1887) persons have been prosecuted for setting off firearms or fireworks in the city of Philadelphia without special license from the Governor.

The law courts of the Province received their permanent constitution and powers from an act of 1722, the previous acts for the establishment of a judiciary having been repealed by the King. It is not to his credit that he sanctioned the extension to the Province of English statutes putting persons to death for lesser crimes than murder. In this respect, however, he did not go as far as later Governors. He mitigated the hardships of civil procedure by providing that, except in certain circumstances which may be classified as fraudulent, no freeholder who had resided two years in the Province, and had fifty acres of land in fee, with twelve of his acres cleared, or else fifty pounds' value in a dwelling-house or unimproved land, should be arrested in any civil action unless at the King's suit, or where a fine should be due to the King. As to Keith's part in legislation, his was the responsibility for passing the acts in their final shape; but, moreover, Franklin in his autobiography tells us that some of the best laws of the Province were of his planning, and besides the alterations which he suggested in bills which did not emanate from him, his influence, or the solicitation of his friends Thomas Beak and Micajah Perry, was the means of obtaining the approval of them by the British government.

Sir William Keith was superseded upon the arrival of Patrick Gordon, June 22, 1726. In the following autumn Sir William was chosen a member of the Assembly from Philadelphia County, and on the day that the House convened manifested that he had still numerous partisans by riding into the little city at the head of eighty horsemen: but by a combination of the Proprietary's friends and David Lloyd, their life-long opponent, who had now forsaken Keith, he was prevented from being chosen Speaker.

In 1727 he was again elected to the Assembly. In March, 1728, he departed from Pennsylvania. This was, some said, to avoid prosecution for a certain heavy debt. We learn from a contemporary letter that he was already under bail in another matter. Perhaps his design was by personal interviews to try his powers of persuasion to obtain

reappointment from Springett Penn, or some office from those who had risen to influence by the accession, less than a year before, of King George II., with whom, when Prince of Wales, Keith's intercourse had been friendly. Fearing detention by creditors, Sir William kept secret his thought of leaving. He even waited until the ship had started from Philadelphia, then followed her to New Castle in a row-boat with one friend, William Chancellor, besides the men who rowed them, and there went aboard, nobody in that town except the minister, Rev. George Ross, being aware of it, although the ship remained several days afterwards in the river. Sir William left a letter for the other Assemblymen from Philadelphia County, saying that business of importance had suddenly called him to Great Britain, whereby he could not hope any more that year to attend with them upon the country's service.

He also penned the following farewell address:

"To some of my well Respected friends & acquaintance at Philadelphia.

"Now that I am got so far on my voyage towards Great Brittain It will be a great part of my entertainment till I see you again, to contemplate with no small satisfaction on ye agreeable hours we have past together. For as our acquaintance has been of a pretty long standing, and ye conversation generally attended with an open generous freedom which is more valued, and better understood in Europe than in any part of America, I am confident that the transition, which I shall make from yours into some of ye best company, that I have formerly known in England, will be both natural and easy to me.

"Those who with an honest & just design shall happen to be inquisitive concerning the reasons that induced me to undertake this voyage, so suddenly may receive full satisfaction from any of you, that were present in company, when I had ye pleasure to communicate my Intentions, & for such who purely out of malice or ill will, Doe express their Desire of being informed about any part of my conduct, you'll be at no loss to give them a proper answer.

"The Public good & general wellfare of this Province, which will ever be acknowledged by all honest men concerned, to be perfectly consistent with both ye Prop^n hon^r

& his Interest has been perhaps in ye understanding of some few, too much my case & in that Respect I am sensible that I stand charged with having neglected not only the Interest & support of my own family, but also the means, which Providence had put into my hands of Discharging the obligations which I owed to others.

"But when men of virtue, & without Prejudice come to apply this charge unto one who has acted in a publick station, by ye immutable Precepts of morality & Honour, They will probably think, That any unfortunate event happening to a Person so circumstanced, is very much to be regretted Especially when they have had occasion Farther to observe That even his greatest enemies, after many efforts, have not injustice Partiality or neglect in ye whole course of his Duty. They will doubtless approve of his fidelity to ye Publick, alth° it unhappily interfered, with his own private Interest & advantage.

"As the Events of Things are not in ye hands of man we only can judge rightly of other mens dangers, by such overt acts as evidently declare the Intention of the mind, so when a man has faithfully Discharged a Public trust reposed in him & has continually showed a chearful readiness, to answer every just demand, that could be made upon him, according to his abilities at the time & has likewise applied himself with great Industry to promote such Improvements as were not only consistent with ye Publick good, but seemed also to promise very considerable advantages to the private Interest of his own Family, Let the event be what it will, we ought in all justice to conclude, that such a mans views were honest, & his Intentions well directed, else we shall not doe to others as we would wish in ye like Cases that they shall doe unto us, which is not only ye first & greatest Law of humanity, But ye very Bond of all society, & ye Rule of equal justice, between man & man.

"The Continual & various Distribution of y° Divine Providence to mankind in y° affairs of this Life are evidently, beyond y° Reach of our Thoughts, and daily demonstrate y° Imperfections, of humane judgement when it is not guarded by an entire submission unto, & dependance upon y° will of God, which not only prevents indecent complaints of y° many unforeseen accidents & misfortunes, that often befall ourselves but also y° too frequent Presumption of judging & determining the course of Providence with Respect to others.

"These & y° like considerations arising now from ex-

perience, Doe perfectly confirm to me, the opinion which I had conceived from my youth, viz: That a great submission unto & content with ye Lot that befalls us, is ye only true happiness attainable in this Life. For such is ye composition, we are made of, that this calm Disposition of ye Soul, checks all inordinate Grief, or concern, & at ye same time gives an agreeable & full Relish to every enjoyment & pleasure, whereas without this one Ingredient, Honours, Riches, Youth, Beauty, & every other accession of happiness, which ye most fluent Imagination can suggest, Doe in reality become so many plagues to Torment us with endless desires accompanied by ye ungovernable Passions of Pride, Envy, Fear, Jealousy, and Revenge, which I hope will ever Remain as great strangers amongst you, as I have found in you hitherto.

"I am sensible that you have always taken, but a very small share & concern in ye little Politicks of ye place where you live. But as it is scarce practicable and by no means commendable, for a man of substance, & Business to be negligent, or altogether indifferent, about such things, as appear to be essential to the wellfare of that community of which they are members, & least according to custom, I may perhaps in my absence be unjustly charged, with more of ye sort, than is consistent with either my Inclinations or Practice, I shall in very few words give you my opinion even on that subject.

"If ye House of Representatives be rightly informed by ye merchants and other men of business, concerning ye Interest or Decay of any material Branches of trade as ye members of that House are most certainly ye proper judges of Peoples necessities They will doubtless prepare & apply suitable Remedie for all Publick wants and Grievances, and they being so often assured of ye Governers Ready Inclinations to concurr with them in every thing which they shall judge Requisite for ye wellfare of ye Province, It can't with sense or Decency be supposed, that his Honour will ever Hearken unto counsels, which may possibly create a difference in sentiments between him & the Representatives of ye people, with Relation to Publick affairs.

"I Depart now with a firm Resolution, if it Please God, to return very speedily, and I leave all ye Remains of my family behind, as so many Pledges of my sincere affection, & Love to this country, and that all men of Probity of whatsoever Degree or Profession may be encouraged to promote Trade, & Business amongst you, That justice in all its

Branches may be equally & impartially administred and that Peace, Plenty & good neighbourhood may ever abound in Pensilvania Is the sincere, & shall be the constant wish of

"Your affectionate friend & obliged humble servant

WILLIAM KEITH.

"Capes of Delaware from on board
ye ship Molly Capt Hudson
March the 22^d 1727/8"

In England he attempted to communicate with the widow Penn, and her children, and in a letter of November 18, 1728, he acknowledges to Thomas Penn:

"The overcoming Evil with good, 's a rare but commendible disposition, especially in young People, since it may be truly said to be the perfection of all Moral virtue, and I think your self and Brothers may very well claim a Title to it by Inheritance. I observe with great Thankfullness, your Condescension to forgive the Interest due on that money which I borrow'd from Messrs Gouldney & Gee, out of regard to my present Circumstances."

In November, 1728, he presented to the King "A Short Discourse on the Present State of the Colonies in America with Respect to the Interest of Great Britain," which was referred to the Commissioners of Trade, urging the policy of fostering those industries, and those only, which did not conflict with the industries of the mother-country, and representing that if properly encouraged the colonies could furnish Britain with as much as she could demand of masting for the navy, all sorts of timber, hemp, flax, pitch, tar, oil, rosin, copper-ore, pig and bar-iron, by means whereof Britain could reduce the balance of trade with Russia and the Baltic. He proposed such regulations upon the plantation trade that all products of the colonies for which the manufacture and trade of Britain had a constant demand should be transported thither before any other market, that woollen goods for the colonies should come from Britain only, and linens from Great Britain and Ireland. Among certain changes which he thought advantageous in the government of the colonies was to send judges from England to make circuits by turns throughout North

America. As the object of this would be to provide learned lawyers, his motive in suggesting it could scarcely have been his own appointment. He may have aimed at the Secretaryship of State for the colonies, the establishment of which office he also suggested. We do not know that he obtained even a clerkship. On April 23, 1731, describing himself as in the Parish of St. Margaret, Westminster, he conveyed his messuage and nine hundred and thirty-four acres ten perches in Horsham, Pennsylvania, unto his eldest surviving son, Alexander Henry Keith, and others, in trust for Sir William's wife, Dame Ann, with power to sell, and pay her the proceeds. They soon sold one hundred acres to Shoemaker.

Sir William joined a company which applied about this time for a grant of the land west of Pennsylvania.

The *Gentleman's Magazine* for June, 1732, said that he had been chosen a member of Parliament for Aberdeenshire in place of Sir Archibald Grant, expelled. This was corrected in the next number, to the effect that Sir Arthur Forbes had been chosen, and Cobbett's "Parliamentary History," saying nothing about Sir William, mentions Sir Arthur as the new member. Probably Sir William had been a candidate, and at first was supposed to have been elected: it is not impossible that he really was elected, and that his rival got the certificate.

The "Historical Review" before quoted, says,—

"There is no man long or much conversant in this overgrown city who hath not often found himself in company with the shades of departed Governors, doom'd to wander out the residue of their lives, full of the agonizing remembrance of their passed eminence, and the severe sensation of present neglect. Sir William Keith, upon his return was added to this unfortunate list; concerning whom the least that can be said is that either none but men of fortune should be appointed to serve in such dignified offices; or, otherwise, that for the honour of Government itself such as are recalled without any notorious imputation on their conduct, should be preserved from that wretchedness and contempt which they have been but too frequently permitted to fall into, for want even of a proper subsistence."

He became a prisoner for debt, as the record shows:

"Sir William Keith Barronett on the Eighteenth day of January 1734 Surrendred himself to his Majestys Prison of the Fleet before Alexander Denton Esquire one of the Justices &ct. In discharge of his Bail at the Suit of John Mackubin for Twenty four pounds upon Promise By Oath 14*l.* 14*s.* And also in discharge of his Bail at the Suit of Benjamin Hodson John Hodson & Edward Maling Executors of Robert Hodson deceased for forty pounds upon Promise And also in discharge of his Bail at the Suit of John Norman for forty pounds Case By Oath 30*l.* And on 30 January. 1734 he was charged with a Writt of Habeas Corpus retonable before the Justices at Westmr. on the Morrow of the Purification to satisfie John Norman forty one pounds Damages adjudged &ct. whereof the said Sr. Wm. Keith is Convicted &ct. Heber. Cooke. And with another Habeas Corpus retornable as above to satisfie Benjamin Hodson John Hodson & Edward Maling Extors. of Robert Hodson deced. thirty Two pounds Damages &ct. whereof the said Sr. Wm. is convicted &ct. Heber. Cooke. And on the 11 Febry. 1734 he was charged with another Writt of Habeas Corpus returnable before the Justices at Westmr. on Wednesday next after the Octave of the Purification to satisfie John Macubin Twenty seven pounds ten shillings Damages &ct. Whereof he is Convicted &ct. Risson. Cooke."

He was less than a year in confinement. On the margin of the Macubin matter is marked "30 Decr. 1735 Disch. by Plts. Discharge;" on the margin of the others, "Discharged by the Lords Act,"—viz., the statute authorizing the discharge of those in prison for less than one hundred pounds who were willing to deliver up their effects. He designed writing a history of all the British Plantations in America, but accomplished only that of Virginia, which was published in London in 1738.

Chief Justice Marshall's "Life of Washington" attributes to Sir William Keith the conception of the project of taxing America by Act of Parliament. It was suggested by him some time before the Spanish War, as the means of providing for the common defence of the colonies, and as such it was urged by a company having interests there, or a

"Club of American Merchants," of which he was a member, probably the Ohio Company. The proposition, as embodied in the two papers on the subject, emanating from this source, and supposed to have been written by him, was to raise and maintain a military force for the protection of the British colonies, and to establish a general council of their Governors to assist the commander-in-chief, and to defray the expense by stamp duties similar to those in England, supposed to be the easiest method of taxation. These were to be imposed by Parliament because the several Assemblies "never could be brought in voluntarily to raise such a Fund by any general and equally proportioned Tax among themselves." Coxe's "Memoirs of Sir Robert Walpole" (page 753) saying that soon after the excise scheme, which failed in 1733, Sir William Keith, "who had been deputy-governor of Virginia (*sic*), came over with a plan of an American tax," then relates, on the authority of Lord Chancellor Hardwicke, that Lord Chesterfield, having asked Walpole what he thought of it, Walpole replied, "I have old England set against me, and do you think I will have new England likewise?" Yet, it is probable that, had the plan then been carried into execution, with as popular an official as Sir William for stamp-master, which he may have hoped to be, it would not have had the same consequences as a quarter of a century later, when the colonies had become more powerful and more warlike, and the proceeds of the tax were to go into the British treasury. Years after the death of the subject of this sketch some of his ideas were acted upon by the British government, and the two papers were reprinted for its vindication as the sentiments "of the greatest friends to America." In letters to John Adams, written in 1813, Thomas McKean says, "The Congress at Albany in 1754 . . . was . . . in reality to propose the least offensive plan for raising a revenue in America. In 1739, Sir William Keith, a Scotch gentleman, who had been a lieutenant-governor of Pennsylvania, proposed such an assembly to the ministry. He also proposed the extension of the British stamp-duties to the colonies. He was then, I believe, in the Fleet prison. The

hints he gave were embraced, the first in 1754, the second in 1764." (Works of John Adams, vol. x. p. 73, edit. 1856.) "The anecdote of Sir William Keith's proposal to the British ministry is to be found in the latter end of the 1st volume of American Tracts, printed by J. Almon, in London, 1767. It had been published in London in 1739, and is titled 'A proposal for establishing by act of parliament the duties upon stamped paper and parchment in all the British colonies.' Part of the anecdote I had by tradition, and in a novel, 'Peregrine Pickle.'" (Ibid., p. 80.)

Keith published in London in 1740 "A Collection of Papers and other Tracts, written occasionally on Various Subjects. To which is prefixed, By way of Preface, an Essay on the Nature of a Publick Spirit." It is dedicated to the Duke of Montagu. It reached a second edition in 1749. In the dedication, the author says the papers were written at different times and by starts, purely for amusement, "to pass away the hours that a tedious attendance on the fair but empty promises of great men in Power had rendered tiresome to the mind." The Collection includes, however, his report to the Board of Trade in February, 1718–19, concerning the French settlements and his discourse presented to the King in 1728. The other pieces, besides the essay on Publick Spirit, are "The Citizen," "A Dissertation on the Liberty of the Subject in Great Britain," "An Essay on the Education of a Young British Nobleman after he has left the Schools," "Observations on the Office of an Ambassador," "A Discourse on the Medium of Commerce," "Some useful Observations on the Consequences of the present War with Spain." These are worthy of attention for their presentation of British interests and their philanthropic philosophy, although a critic of style would not call the author more than Franklin calls him,—viz., "a pretty good writer." In the article on the war with Spain, Sir William urges an expedition for the conquest of Cuba. In the "Citizen," purporting to be the debates of a society of London merchants, he sets forth views on current events, gives advice for married life, and moralizes upon the vanity

of learning and science when not pursued for practical usefulness. He doubts if mankind is much indebted to those who can boast of great reputation in divinity, mathematics, physic, law, natural philosophy, or antiquities, and points out that attainments in certain studies have served chiefly to enable designing men to impose upon their fellows. Of the chronologists, medalists, etc.,—the pioneers of historical criticism,—he says that some of them "act the Part of Executioners, and Manglers of ancient History, by introducing their conjectural Criticisms, in Contradiction to the most material Facts, and the best vouched Relations of Things." He sees with regret the abolition of distinction in dress between the different ranks of society, attributes it to a "sordid itch" in persons of quality to follow low pleasures, and warns them that "when Irreligion is become a fashionable Sort of Wit in all Companies, and the open, bare-faced Practice of Immorality, a polite Taste with the Men of Rank, it is unavoidable but that the same Ideas and Relish of Life will be gradually diffused among the Commons, and consequently tend to a lawless and universal Contempt of the Civil Power." In The Education of a Nobleman, he laments that there are men in learned societies who "have a higher Ambition to correct and explain an obscure, or perhaps an obscene Passage in Plautus or Terence, than to eradicate a vice out of human Society."

On July 31, 1740, Lady Ann, wife of Sir William, died; her remains were interred in the yard of Christ Church, Second Street, Philadelphia. It is not known that she ever saw him after his leaving the colony. Watson, who calls her Sir William's "widow," says that "unnoticed and almost forgotten" she lived and died in a small wooden house, Third Street above Market, where, "much pinched for subsistence, she eked out her existence with an old female; and declining all intercourse with society, or with her neighbours." The deed of August 16, 1737, for the balance of the estate at Horsham recites that she had been obliged for her support to contract large debts, for the payment of which and her future support the Trustees, at her request, had sold

the eight hundred and thirty-four acres at public sale for seven hundred and fifty pounds Pennsylvania money. In December following the purchaser reconveyed to her son-in-law, Dr. Græme, who, we believe, notwithstanding the language of Watson, never allowed Lady Ann to starve.

On October 5, 1741, died without issue Sir William's heir-apparent, Alexander Henry Keith, Esquire, some years Collector of the Customs at New Castle on the Delaware, and whose wife, Thomasine, was a daughter of Anthony Palmer of Kensington, the Councillor. So the family appears to have been reduced to a son, Robert Keith, who, under the patronage of his celebrated kinsman General James Keith, brother of the last Earl Marischal, became a captain in the Russian army, and following that hero into the army of Frederick the Great about the beginning of 1748, was soon made a lieutenant-colonel and one of the King's aides-de-camp.

The records of the Fleet Prison preserved in the Public Records Office in London do not enable us to say whether Sir William was again in confinement, as the commitment book for 1749 is missing. At any rate, he died in the Old Bailey, which part of London was a liberty of the Fleet, but where he may have resided because it afforded cheap lodging. He died November 18, 1749, in the seventieth year of his age. Some notices incorrectly call him ten years older. Letters of administration upon his estate were granted by the Register of Wills of New Castle County on the Delaware to Gideon Griffith, who was sheriff of the county.

The baronetcy has remained dormant. Robert Keith, on December 11, 1750, married, in Berlin, Margaret Albertina Conradina von Suchin, daughter of one of the King's Councillors, but subsequently became colonel in the Danish army, in which he rose to the rank of major-general, and was at one time commandant at Hamburg. He had two sons, Frederick William, born in 1751, and Robert George, born in 1752, the former being a lieutenant in his Danish Majesty's guards at the time that the account in Douglas's "Baronage" was written. Nothing later is known to us of the family.

NARRATIVE OF JOHN HECKEWELDER'S JOURNEY TO THE WABASH IN 1792.

(Continued from Vol. XI. page 475.)

On the morning of the 26th of June, Gen. Putnam and I at last proceeded on our journey down the Ohio. In our vessel manned by nine men, there were several gentlemen, passengers to Gallipolis. We landed at Belleprée, visited friends and saw the beautiful new settlement. This colony consists, as was mentioned before, of three stations or fortifications, about a mile and a half distant from each other, situated on a bluff of the Ohio about sixty feet high. The upper one named Stone's Station[1] lies directly above the Little Kanawa River, where there is also a small settlement of Virginians. Here there is a beautiful island, four miles long.[2] The soil in this neighborhood is remarkably fertile, and inhabitants as well as cattle show plainly that they are living in a goodly land. We spent the night with Major [Nathan] Goodale at the lower station. Soon after we had started on the morning of the 27th and had passed by one of the dwellings destroyed by the Indians, we saw two hostile Indians. When they discovered us, they attempted to conceal themselves among the high weeds. At noon we rode by many neglected farms. In the evening at 9 o'clock we reached the Great Kanawa, formerly called New River. This is the spot where in 1774, Col. Lewis had a severe engagement with the Shawanese in which the latter were totally defeated. The Virginian government gave Col. Lewis, as acknowledgment of his services, a grant of 9000 acres of land on which he has for seven years been laying out a town, now consisting of 30 houses, named Point Pleas-

[1] [It was situated on the Ohio, two miles above Farmer's Castle.]
[2] [Blennerhasset's Island.]

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ant. It is very beautifully situated on a high bank. The Kanawa, about as broad as the Lehigh at Bethlehem, flows past the lower part of the town, and then empties into the Ohio. Fifteen miles above this river, there is a spring which burns as soon as it comes in contact with fire. It was discovered by a Virginian hunter, who spent the night near it. At night he went with a lighted torch to get a drink, a spark from the brand fell into the water which immediately rose up in flames and frightened the hunter so dreadfully, that he left in haste. The spring is now visited by many gentlemen travelling down the Ohio, and they tell me, that when it has been set on fire, it usually burns for about three quarters of an hour. It does not however burn down to the ground, but only to the surface of the water. A man who had been scalped and tomahawked[1] by the Indians was found here in the water a few days ago. We rode on this same evening to the French settlement of Gallipolis situated on the North bank of the Ohio between three and four miles from the Kanawa. Here we spent the whole of the following day in visiting the skilled workmen and the gardens laid out in European style. The most interesting shops of the workmen were those of the goldsmiths and watchmakers. They showed us work on watches, compasses and sun-dials, finer than any I had ever beheld. Next in interest were the sculptors and stonecutters. The latter had two finished mantles, most artistically carved. Gen. Putnam at once purchased one of them for 12 Guineas, the other was intended for a rich Dutch gentleman who has built a two-story house here, 50 ft. long. The upper part of a mantle was lying there, ordered by a Spanish gentleman in New Orleans,[2] which because of the fine workmanship upon it,

[1] I presume that my readers are aware of the fact that, the savages of North America carry home as a trophy of war, the front head skin, called scalp, of their defeated foes. Tomahawk means in their language an axe with which they cut down their foes or prisoners or those who are unable to proceed on their homeward march.

[2] New Orleans is the capital of the Spanish province of Louisiana situated at the mouth of the Mississippi. This river forms the boundary line between the Free States and the Spanish province. The Ohio, on

was to cost 20 or 22 guineas. The worker in glass, seemed to be a born artist. He made us a thermometer, a barometer, a glass tobacco-pipe, a small bottle (which could contain about a thimble full) and a most diminutive stopper, and a number of works of art besides. He also manufactured precious medicine, nitric acid, etc. As we were on a journey and were in daily need of light and fire, he presented us with a glass full of dry stuff, which burns as soon as a match is applied. This stuff he told us was manufactured from bones. Concerning the fine gardens I must add the following, viz: that in them were to be found the most beautiful flowers, artichokes, and almond trees, and besides many fine vineyards, and some rice fields. At a distance of about 100 steps from the Ohio, there is a round hill which probably dates its origin, from the former inhabitants of this land as also the remarkable fortifications and buildings to be found in this country. This hill about 30 ft high, has been improved as a beautiful pleasure garden, with a pretty summer-house on the top. The town of Gallipolis consists of 150 dwellings. The inhabitants number between 3 and 400. A detachment of from 50 to 60 men of the regular army is stationed here for their protection. Besides a few Virginia spies or scouts, are kept and paid by the government. The militia are also willing to serve for remuneration. The Chikemage Creek flows back of the town, and below it empties into the Ohio. Fine boats are also manufactured in this town; our vessel is one of them. At noon we dined with the most prominent French gentlemen of the place, at the house of the judge and doctor, Mr Petit. Among the officers who were there as guests, there was one, by the name of Dimler, who told me, that he was a friend of the family E . . . . . and that to the best of his knowledge, he had friends in Bethlehem.

Early on the morning of the 29th a new bark canoe passed

whose banks Gallipolis is situated, empties into the Mississippi, and is navigated by the inhabitants. There is therefore considerable trade carried on with the Spanish inhabitants of Kentucky and several settlements along the Ohio.

along the banks, a sign that Indians must be in the neighborhood, who had returned from the war beyond the Ohio. We started from here at 5 o'clock in the morning, and crossed the Gyandotte, a river which empties into the Ohio on the Virginia shore. Wild turkeys and deer were seen in great numbers on the banks of the Ohio. At half-past five in the afternoon, we crossed the Big Sandy, a very beautiful river emptying into the Ohio from the South, and forming the boundary line between Virginia and Kentucky. Here we found frequent traces of buffaloes along the river-bank. We left our boat float the whole night on the river, not without a guard, however, for now we were obliged to pass the most dangerous point, viz., the Sciota. For several years many passing Kentucky boats had been attacked and seized by the enemy; the Indians having provided themselves with boats in order to make their attack. It is said that within two years about 150 people have either lost their lives or been led into captivity from this place. We were fortunate enough to be enveloped in a dense fog during the whole night until 9 o'clock the next morning, so that when it had dispersed we found ourselves eight miles below the Sciota river.

The whole stretch of land on both sides of the Ohio, yesterday and to-day, was very pleasing to the eye. There were many round hills frequently covered by chestnut trees, and as they were now in blossom, they added greatly to the beauty of the landscape. At 3 o'clock in the afternoon, we discovered a Kentucky boat at a place from which we could conclude that it had been taken there by the Indians some time ago. Soon after we reached the three Sandy Islands (a passage of the Indians to Kentucky) where we met a few white scouts, who had gone out to reconnoitre. We arrived at Mercer's station at 4 o'clock (the latest maps call the place Massey's Town) on the north bank of the Ohio, where there are about 30 families in a fort. Here there is an island in the Ohio, two miles long, almost entirely covered with Indian corn. From this point we met Kentuckians both on the river and land, who had gone out either to

hunt or fish, or for other occupations. When we reached Limestone,[1] at 6 o'clock in the evening, where we took our supper, we observed this class of people and their peculiar mode of life, with astonishment. This place is in a manner the entrance to Kentucky where most boats (or all boats going to the waterfalls of the Ohio) land, unload and continue overland on their journey to the more inhabited neighborhoods and places, like Washington, Lexington, etc. The inhabitants of this town live in idleness and poverty, and for support depend upon what they can lay hold of from the travellers to whom they occasionally lend assistance when in difficulty. I counted 56 large millstones lying around on the banks ready to be taken away by the owners. The town stands on a bluff 70 feet high on the south side of the Ohio. At 9 o'clock in the evening we started, and left the boat glide down with the current; a slight contrary wind blowing, and the current not being strong, we only made 12 miles through the night, to a station in Kentucky, where we breakfasted. The whole region, from Limestone down for twenty miles, is inhabited on the south side by Kentuckians. At 8 o'clock we arrived at the Ten-Mile Reach, so called, because the Ohio flows a straight distance of ten miles, with flat low banks on both sides, and it would appear, as if this were its mouth. In the evening at 5 we passed the town of Columbia, and took up our quarters with Major [Benjamin] Stites. This man who is from Jersey has purchased a tract of 20,000 acres from Judge Symmes[2] and has laid out a town upon it. The lots which are a half acre in size are sold at 7 sh. 6 d., and those situated outside of the town, belonging to it, 5 acres in size, amount to as much. The town is situated on the Little Miami and Ohio. On the former there is a ship-mill. There are many well built houses, and the town is finely situated. The present number of inhabitants exceeds 1100. They are provided with two Baptist preach-

[1 Maysville.]

[2 John Cleves Symmes, who, in 1788, was appointed judge for the North West Territory.]

ers,[1] Smith and Clark. Judge Goforth whom we visited, also resides here. The only disadvantage of this place is, that part of the land is inundated by high water. Walnut and Locust trees cover a great portion of it. Two military posts have been erected several miles behind the town as protection to the neighborhood.

On the 2d of July, after breakfast, we left Columbia and reached the town of Cincinnati at 9 o'clock. Fort Washington is situated there, and Gen. Putnam was greeted upon his arrival by a salute of 9 cannon shots. Lodgings were assigned to me with Gen. Putnam in Fort Washington, but I declined and went to a landlord in the town, by the name of Martin, formerly from Sussex County, New Jersey. After having rested a little Gen. Putnam and I visited the 56 Indian women and children, prisoners in the stockade from the Eel River[2] and Wawiachtenos Nations, brought captive a year ago by Gen. [Charles] Scott and [James] Wilkinson from Kentucky. Putnam told them that they would soon be released, and that in a few days he would rejoice their hearts, whereupon they expressed themselves very gratefully. About 1 o'clock in the afternoon, Gen. Wilkinson, the Commandant, arrived here; a week ago he had visited the forts as far as Jefferson,[3] with a company of Kentucky militia. He brought the sad intelligence that about 100 warriors, on the day before his arrival, had sur-

[1] The doctrines of this religious party, so numerous in the American Free States, are contained in the 5th Vol. page 258 etc. of this selection.

[2] The Eel river flows in an unexplored region of the Western Territory, 41° North Latitude. It, with other tributaries forms the Wabash. During the late war this part of the country became better known by scouting parties, who coming from Kentucky, destroyed the dwellings of the Indians.

[3] Jefferson is the present name for the most northern Fort in the northwestern territory of the Free States. It is situated on the west bank of the Miami. A line of forts extend from Fort Washington on the Ohio to Jefferson in order to protect the new settlers of this fruitful land against the savages. The situation of these forts is clearly given, on the map of the Western territory of North America which Imlay has added to his description of this region of country. This map also shows plainly Mr. Heckewelder's travelling route.

prised a guard of 14 men, placed there to watch a band of workmen. The Indians had either killed them all, or taken them captive. If we consider that this unfortunate day was the one appointed by Gen. Putnam for his negotiations with the hostile Indians in Fort Jefferson, and that our messages had been delivered promptly and in good time, one can easily conclude, that this expedition had been directed against us, and that their intention was to give us an answer, by aiming a tomahawk at our heads. General Putnam's instructions were to travel on direct to Fort Jefferson, and tarry there until the return of the messengers of peace, in order to receive their answer and await the Mohican Indian, Capt. Hendricks. He concluded however to depart from these instructions, and remain until he could learn how the messengers of peace had fared.

On the 3d Messrs. Vanderburgh, Vigo and Beard arrived here from Post-Vincennes. Five men and one woman came with them, from the Wawiachtenos Nation accompanied by a guard and their errand was, to seek and help to take away their captive friends. This fact was made known to the prisoners before night, the guard within the stockade was called away, and the gate opened, but for the safety of the prisoners, a guard was placed outside of it. It was touching to witness the loud outbursts of weeping when relatives met. The gentlemen from Vincennes mentioned above, brought the tidings that the Indians from their neighborhood had declared that the three messengers of peace, Trueman, Freeman and Hardin[1] had been murdered by hostile Indians, and that their papers and belts[2]

[1] [They were released from captivity after the defeat of the Indians by General Wayne at Fallen Timbers.]

[2] Upon the occasion of an agreement or treaty of peace it was customary for the messengers of peace, to begin their proposals by the presentation of several belts of Wampum. This Wampum is a girdle consisting of different strings upon which bright shells have been strung. It is composed of four, six or more strands of this kind, is three or four fingers wide, and several feet long. Important treaties are ratified by the presentation of this belt, as well among Europeans as among Indians.

had been seen in the villages of the savages. On July 4th, the anniversary of the independence of the United States, 15 cannon shots were fired in the morning at six o'clock, and again at noon, while the assembled officers were dining; and in the evening as a close of the day. All salutes were fired from a six pounder. Judge Symmes had come to attend this festival from North Bend, 15 miles down the Ohio, where he owns an estate.

I spent my time on the 5th and 6th taking walks and viewing the town. The well known Col. Menzies,[1] Inspector of the troops in the service of the United States, and Lawyer Smith, visited me in turns. The town of Cincinnati was laid out by Judge Symmes. He was formerly judge in New Jersey, and at present fills the same office in the Western Territory, northwest of the Ohio river. A few years ago he purchased from Congress, the whole tract of land, lying between the Big and Little Miami, as far as the Ohio river, and about 30 miles north of the two named rivers. The ground upon which the town stands, is a plain along the Ohio about two miles long, and extending northward seven miles along the road. The town is in a manner divided into two parts, as one, or a second shore of the Ohio is 140 perches from the real banks of the Ohio. Each of these banks is 40 ft. high, and on account of its situation or straight line, very pleasant to the eye. What lies below this second bank, is called the lower town; the upper town is however connected with the lower one. At present there are 354 surveyed lots purchased and used for building purposes. Four acres outside of the town, belong to every lot within the town. The price of the lots was at first from four to eight dollars per lot, and twenty dollars an acre for the lots outside of the town. The rush is however so great at present, that lots are being sold at from $30 to $60 cash, from the second purchaser. More than 200 houses have been built, many of which are two stories high, well-built and painted red. They command a rent of from 50 to 60 dollars per year.

[1] [Menzius.]

In the centre of the upper town, there are two large squares, the one intended for a Court House, and the other for a Church. On the latter a fine Church is being built, and under roof. The streets of the town are everywhere four perches wide. All the lots which have been surveyed are enclosed with good posts and Indian corn, wheat, oats, barley, millet, potatoes and turnips are cultivated in them. There are eight open roads leading from East to West, and six from South to North, pleasant for walking, there being no obstacles in the way, on the one road for ¾ of a mile, and on the other for ½ a mile. At the east end of the town, and on the second height, lies Fort Washington, built similar to Campus Martius in Marietta, the roof and palisades on the front are painted red. Near the fort, there are some very fine, large gardens, in which vegetables and fine flowers are cultivated. Tasty summer-houses have been built in them, the most prominent of these belong to Gen. Wilkinson and Dr [Richard] Allison. Just below Fort Washington there are long low buildings forming a square, where the mechanics in the service of the United States army work; it is also a storehouse for provisions. The inhabitants of this city number more than 900, not counting the garrison and its belongings. This does not contain any positive number, but at present consists of about 200 men. The city has its judges and holds regular courts. The military wish to govern, but the city insists upon its rights under the constitution, and in consequence frequent quarrels ensue. The city is overrun with merchants, and overstocked with goods. More than 30 magazines or warehouses can be counted, so that one injures the price of the other. It is a town teeming with idlers, and according to the report of respectable persons, they are a people resembling Sodom. Yet they hope that this place, as well as the others on the north bank of the Ohio, will perhaps in time, or soon, be purged of this wicked class, for experience teaches, that as soon as they are made subject to the law, they leave for Kentucky which lies just across the Ohio, and if they are stopped there, they push on to the extreme boundary along the Clinch or Cumber-

land river, or even down as far as New Orleans. Here I met the wellknown Weisser, who had last year fallen among the conscripts: he participated in the expedition of Nov. 4th and was wounded there. He was frightened when he heard that I was from Bethlehem, and acted as a penitent sinner; said, with many tears, that no sin he had committed, lay so heavily upon his conscience and pained him as much, as that one, that he had belied, and deceived the congregation of God. He remarked at the same time, that from that time on he had had no more success in the world, but was obliged to support himself in a troublesome way, with much uneasiness of heart. I merely said to him: "He who can look into the heart, whom no one can deceive, the same is God, a just judge." He answered: "That I must now most powerfully feel." He spoke to me upon another occasion again and begged me to take a letter asking for pardon, along to Bethlehem, but his behaviour was such, that I could not pay any more attention to him. Although, according to the description, this city consists principally of bad inhabitants yet a clergyman resides there. The present one belongs to the Presbyterian church.[1] I was really astonished to find so many, and partly attentive listeners in the Sunday services. What adds to the beauty of the city of Cincinnati, and contributes to its advantages, is the fact, that just opposite, on the south side of the Ohio, the beautiful Licking River (about ¾ as broad as the Lehigh) empties into it. A city has also been located and begun there, which is called New-Port. From the mouth of this river, which flows from a rich inhabited country, a main road leads to Lexington, the capital of Kentucky. They expect that in future a lively traffic from there to this place, and from here down the Mississippi may be carried on. At present two ferries are maintained here, one of them belongs to a German by the name of Pickel, a former inhabitant of the neighborhood of Bethel,[2] and who, as he says, diligently frequented the Brethren's meetings during the time of Till's, Reizen-

[1] [*Query*, Rev. James Kemper.]

[2] [A Moravian congregation in Lancaster, now Lebanon Co., Pa.]

bach's, Huebner's and Schlegel's ministry. This Pickel told me, that he, when he moved down here and was with other Germans from Monongahela in a boat on their way to New Spain, was called a heretic by them, and they sought to take his life, but he escaped. From Pastor Man in Harrodsburg, Kentucky, 60 miles from here, I received almost daily tidings. He is highly spoken of here; he serves two congregations, composed chiefly of Germans, and preaches both English and German.

On the 7th at 9 o'clock, A.M. two men, a woman and a large boy, who had gone in a canoe to Columbia were attacked by the Indians about a mile and a half from here. One man was killed and scalped, the other shot through the shoulder, and the boy was carried away prisoner. The woman who from fear, fell into the water was carried down some distance by the stream, reached the land safely and brought the news here. The militia was immediately called to arms to march out, brought in the wounded man, and the body of the dead one. They at once cut out the ball from the former and the wound was declared not dangerous. However the head of the other was dreadfully mangled.

Sunday the 8th in the morning the resident minister preached, and in the afternoon a Baptist clergyman from Columbia. The rain which had fallen yesterday and day before, caused the Ohio to rise 11 feet on the 9th. The high water enabled several heavily laden Kentucky boats from Pittsburgh to arrive here. As they passed the Sciota, a number of Indians fired into them, they had already entered their canoes in order to take possession of their boats, but three others some distance behind, well armed, fired off their guns. Hereupon the Indians had to give up their intentions for this time. One of these boats had received 12 shots, but no one was hurt.

On the 12th William Wells arrived here from Louisville. This Wells was a boy 12 years old who on his way to school, 8 years ago, was taken prisoner by the Eel River Wawiachtenos and afterwards adopted into the family of their Sachem or leader, where he learned their language, became a good

huntsman and useful man. He also took part in the engagement of Nov. 4th, and gives good, thorough and reliable accounts of all that has happened there, he has made known where the cannons of the Indians lie buried. As his adopted father Gawiahaetle (that is Hedgehog) had given him his freedom this spring and besides allowed him to go wherever he pleased, also to visit his brother in Kentucky; he first went to Post-Vincennes where he found an opportunity to go to his brother in the neighborhood of Louisville. Gen. Putnam being obliged to have an interpreter, and there being no one here who could speak with the prisoners, he sent for Wells, and took him into the service of the United States. Here he found the rest of his adopted relations, his mother and sisters; when they met, they shed many tears.

Early on the 14th a special messenger arrived from Fort Jefferson with the news, that two soldiers, one of whom had served in Gen. Harmer's company and the other a prisoner captured by the savages on Nov. 4th, when a good distance from the fort, hoeing corn, agreed to desert and successfully carried out their purpose. However the soldiers were taken back on the 15th with an escort of light cavalry and were afterwards cross-examined by a judge in presence of Gen. Putnam and put under oath to speak nothing but the truth. They had both been taken prisoner by the Pottowattami tribe, and one of them, a German by the name of Schaefer, could speak the language quite well. According to their reports the Nations wished to hear of no propositions for peace until they saw that all forts and settlements on this side of the Ohio were abandoned and removed. Besides two peace messengers, Trueman and Freeman, had certainly been killed for the Indians had shown them their scalps, clothes, papers and belts, with the remark: "thus we will in future treat all peace messengers and deserters." Of Colonel Hardin they knew nothing further than that they had been told, that he and his companions had met with a similar fate. They gave further news of all the parties that had started out this summer, and said that Simon Girty has been personally present at the last attack upon Fort Jefferson, made by more than

100 Indians. Altogether the reports were found reliable and agreed with what we had already learned. News came to-day from Fort Jefferson that a party of Indians had last night, which had been particularly dark, driven away all the cattle, penned up in the palisades of the fort, and that Indians had been seen every day. From Columbia the news came to-night that about 30 Indians had been there and taken three men captive. A strong company of cavalry was sent in pursuit of them, they followed their trail for 40 miles, but the Indians had entered a swamp and the horses could proceed no farther.

On the 16th in the morning the Wawiachtenos Head-chief died suddenly. He was one of those mentioned as having lately come from Post Vincennes. At his funeral on the 17th, by order of Gen. Putnam and Wilkinson, every military honor was shown him and three salutes fired over his grave. The majority of Indians followed his remains, one of them carrying a white flag on a long pole, which he afterwards planted at the head of the grave. The procession marched in the best order, accompanied by the most prominent gentlemen of the place. The funeral march was beaten on the drum draped in mourning. They granted him a resting place in the cemetery believing that this might be of advantage to them, among the relatives as well as among the Nation in general. Malicious people dug up the body again at night, tore down the flag and post, threw them into a mud-hole and dragged the body down along the street and stood it up there. The generals had the body burried again immediately in the morning and a flag raised. Governor Winthorp's secretary issued a proclamation offering 100 dollars reward for the discovery of the perpetrators. On the following night however the flag and proclamation were torn down, but the body remained unmolested. For a second time a new flag was raised, a guard placed near by, and nothing further happened. On the 19th the chief of the Indians spoke to Gen. Putnam about the release of the prisoners. He wished Putnam to accompany them personally to the Wabash and be-

lieved that if he did this, he would find an opportunity to announce to those Indians the peaceful intentions of the United States. He added that if they were obliged to remain here any longer, they would surely all die, and if they must die, they preferred to die and be buried in their own land. Putnam thereupon answered them that he had postponed their journey for 30 days. On Sunday 22d on the parade ground, the verdict was read and executed on a soldier, who had attempted a revolt. He was obliged to run the gauntlet, have his head shaved, a collar put around his neck and in this manner be drummed out of the fort and city. He had formerly been tied to the Wheelbarrow in Philadelphia. At noon young Mr Stites arrived at Columbia with the news that Indians had again been seen near that city and were followed by the militia.

On the 24th by invitation of a Kentucky gentleman I crossed the Ohio to visit him. Fort Washington and Cincinnati present a very pleasant view from this side. On the 28th Gen. Wilkinson, with an escort of light cavalry went to his favorite place, Fort Hamilton.

On the 29th the Presbyterian minister spoke with earnestness upon the importance of man's conversion. He used this expression among others: "that in this matter we could not speculate, the choice was free to all, without price and merit, to accept grace and thereby to become saved, or remain unsaved, and be eternally lost."

On the 4th and 5th of August the Ohio rose to such an extent, that on the latter evening it was 12 ft. high. Mr Clark, a Baptist clergyman, from Columbia preached twice in this church. He described the natural man in his sin and nakedness, showed how necessary it is to be converted and pointed out the path which he must then follow. He praised God's compassion, and directed all sinners to Jesus the crucified one. He also spoke of the fruits of conversion whereby a regenerate person could be recognized. He gave an account of his own conversion and how he had sought and found grace. The clergyman expressed himself very severely about those who regard this matter heedlessly or frivolously

and depicted to them the fire of hell as very dreadful and hot. In regard to the Indian war he said among the rest: "God has placed us here in order to be punished for our sins. For this purpose he makes use even of the heathen and as long as we do not change our course and become converted, this chastisement will continue." He mentioned Nov. 4th as an example and related how already under the old dispensation God had made use of the heathen to punish his peculiar people when they had fallen into unbelief, disobedience and idolatry, etc. He also said "I certainly believe that we too are a scourge to the heathen because they do not ask after God." He hoped however that a time might come when all the heathen of this country would seek the only true God and a crucified Saviour and obey and serve Him. As we were coming out of the church, I heard several gentlemen saying to each other: "That man ought to have been torn down and thrown from the pulpit, he wants to declare everything to us as sinful, and yet he had Jesus Christ on his lips, who was nothing more than a carpenter! Had he spoken of God's omnipotence and perhaps given some good moral lessons besides, for example, how men should act towards each other, we would have listened to him, and allowed his sermon to pass, but his whole subject is nothing, he is only a disturber of the peace and a turmoiler etc."

On the 6th several people, who wished to go from Columbia to Dunlaps Station on horseback, were attacked by about 15 Indians. One of them was killed and another was wounded.

On the 10th a company of 60 men, under the leadership of Captain [William] Peters, who were to act as escort to the Indian prisoners on the journey to the Wabash arrived here.

On the 11th four large boats loaded with war supplies arrived from Pittsburgh.

On the 12th I went after preaching to dine at a gentleman's house in Kentucky.

On the 13th the Indians made attacks at three different places. At Fort St. Clair they shot a soldier through the

hat. At Dunlaps Station they wounded three men, of whom one died. At Fort Hamilton they stole 17 horses, but the owners who belong to the Kentucky militia and are in the service of the United States, followed them up, killed one of them, and brought their horses back again.

On the 14th Gen. Wilkinson returned from Fort Hamilton, where he is having a fine house built and will in future take up his residence there. According to all descriptions the country is very beautiful and surrounded by large meadows, on which 2000 tons of hay were cut this year. The Miami that flows by the Fort is said to be full of fish.

On the 16th all the Indians who had been prisoners here for more than a year and who, as the mustering officer informed me, had cost the United States $60,000 accompanied by four other boats and under an escort of 60 men, besides their interpreter Wells, started from here for Post Vincennes.

On the 18th Gen. Putnam and I followed in our barge. Capt. Collis and Dr [Samuel] Boyd accompanied us as far as Louisville as passengers. The former had gone in 1786 with brethren from Bethlehem to St. Croix, but has now settled in Kentucky, the latter has just come from Gen. Hand at Lancaster and has consented to accept an appointment in the army. In our company there was also one of the before mentioned Vanderburghs from Post Vincennes, who wishes again to return with us. Seven miles below Cincinnati, we passed a small settlement on the north side of the Ohio, called the South Bend, situated on the land belonging to Symmes. Eight miles farther on we passed North Bend, where there is a small town and larger settlement, belonging to this gentleman, who resides here. It is really surprising to see how the people have settled and cultivated this country, which five years ago was a wilderness. There are between 300 and 400 inhabitants in this neighborhood living partly in the town and partly on the farms. The most singular circumstance is, that for two years they have been troubled with no Indian raids. Judge Symmes, who is looked upon as a father among this people, has by his kind treatment of the Indians, who at first came here very

frequently, gained their friendship, and this has proved a better protection than a regiment of soldiers. Symmes gave me an Indian interpretation of the coat of arms of the United States, namely the eagle, etc. Three years ago a considerable number of Shawanese and Delawares came here to trade. The judge took the chiefs to his house, entertained them hospitably, and gave them presents. During their visit many things were discussed, he showed them amongst the rest the coat of arms of the United States, which he carefully explained. "Well," said a Shawanese captain, "let me also give my explanation, perhaps it will come nearer to the truth than yours. You tell me that every power has its own coat of arms and that this is good and useful. You have told me much of the peaceful intentions of the United States towards the Indians, and you show as a proof this picture. If the United States were such lovers of peace as you describe them to be, they would have chosen for their coat of arms something more appropriate and expressive of it. For example there are many good, innocent birds. There is the dove which would not do harm to the smallest creature. But what is the eagle? He is the largest of all birds and the enemy of all birds. He is proud, because he is conscious of his size and strength. On a tree, as well as in flight he shows his pride and looks down disparagingly upon all the birds. His head, his eyes, his beak and his long brown talons declare his strength and hostility. Now this bird, which is terrible enough in itself you have depicted as even more dreadful and horrible. You have not only put one of the implements of war, a bundle of arrows into one of his talons, and rods in the other, but have painted him in the most fearful manner, and in a position of attack upon his prey. Now tell me, have I not spoken the truth?" Symmes had to agree to his explanation, however, with the remark, that only enemies of the United States were frightened at this position of the eagle. Friends on the contrary, could look upon it as a sign of protection and this protection all the Indians who were friends of the States enjoyed, etc. It is remarkable how at this place, the

beautiful Miami river, which six miles below empties into the Ohio, after wonderful windings of about 15 miles, at last here approaches within ¾ of a mile of the Ohio. The two Walkers, who two years ago murdered the peaceful Seneca Indians on the Pint creek, still live here. At 2 o'clock P.M. we passed through the great Miami, on the banks of which were wild turkeys and geese in great numbers. We continued two miles farther to Tanner's Station in Kentucky on the south side of the Ohio, where we bought butter and watermelons. We saw deer, bears and wild fowls grazing along the shores of the Ohio. During the night we left our boat drift with the current.

On Sunday the 19th at six different times we saw herds of buffaloes grazing on the shore. We put Capt. Collin ashore, who although he had hit one, was not able to follow him any farther, because of the fresh Indian tracks. However, as towards evening sixteen buffaloes, and three buffalo calves showed themselves, our hunter shot a very fat young cow weighing between four and five hundred pounds. Now we had a good supply of meat, and could look upon the rest of the game with indifferent eyes. During the night we again allowed ourselves to float with the current.

On the 20th in the early morning, buffaloes and deer were visible. Already at 10 o'clock we had reached the Twelve Mile island, and afterwards the Six Mile island, all thickly overgrown, with the so-called Carolina reed, which covers many swamps of this region. Near the latter island the Kentucky shore is thickly settled. During the afternoon about 3 o'clock we passed Fort Steuben, on the north side of the Ohio, where the Indians had already arrived on the night before with their guard of 60 men. In honor of the general, on our arrival, nine cannonshots were fired and the commandant of this fort, Capt. [Thomas] Doyle, showed himself very kind towards me. He inquired about his relatives in Lancaster and Nazareth, namely the H——s and Jacob Kr——'s family. We all slept under tents, on the banks of the Ohio and were surrounded by sentinels.

On the 21st during the morning, Capt. Peters made the

necessary preparations to take our four boats over the falls of the Ohio.[1] After all our baggage had been conveyed across the river and then 1½ miles by wagon to the lower fall. They now tried to pilot down the two Kentucky boats and the two barges. The pilot receives a guinea for each boat. As the water was very low and the channel narrow, it was exceedingly troublesome, and three of our boats ran aground, only one reached there to-day. Every effort was made to float the grounded boats. However to-day they did not succeed and the poor people who were on board, had to pass the night there, wet as they were. The greatest misfortune was, that one of these boats, forty feet long and sixteen feet broad, which had cost 40 Dollars sank during the night. There were two sick Indian women and two soldiers on it, but they saved themselves on the roof of the boat. The commandant of this place an honest good man, was busy already before daybreak, helping the sufferers. He sent a number of strong soldiers with a quantity of ropes to them, which at last towards noon accomplished their purpose and the two barges were safely brought below the falls. The four persons on the stranded boat were also landed with their effects. The poor Indians who had to see and experience all the difficulties and dangers and were at a place where Kentucky fury raged towards them, wept aloud together. As their interpreter had gone ashore to visit his brother, I consoled them as best I could and towards evening brought them back under cover of the cannons at the fort. Here they were out of danger and Capt. Doyle took the best care of them, until at last, they were taken next day to the headquarters of Gen. Putnam on the other side of the Ohio and below the falls, where they seemed to be quite contented. The commissary's three large boats loaded with provisions, intended for us and the troops at Post Vincennes, passed safely and quite unharmed over the waterfalls, so that matters could be arranged and we all had

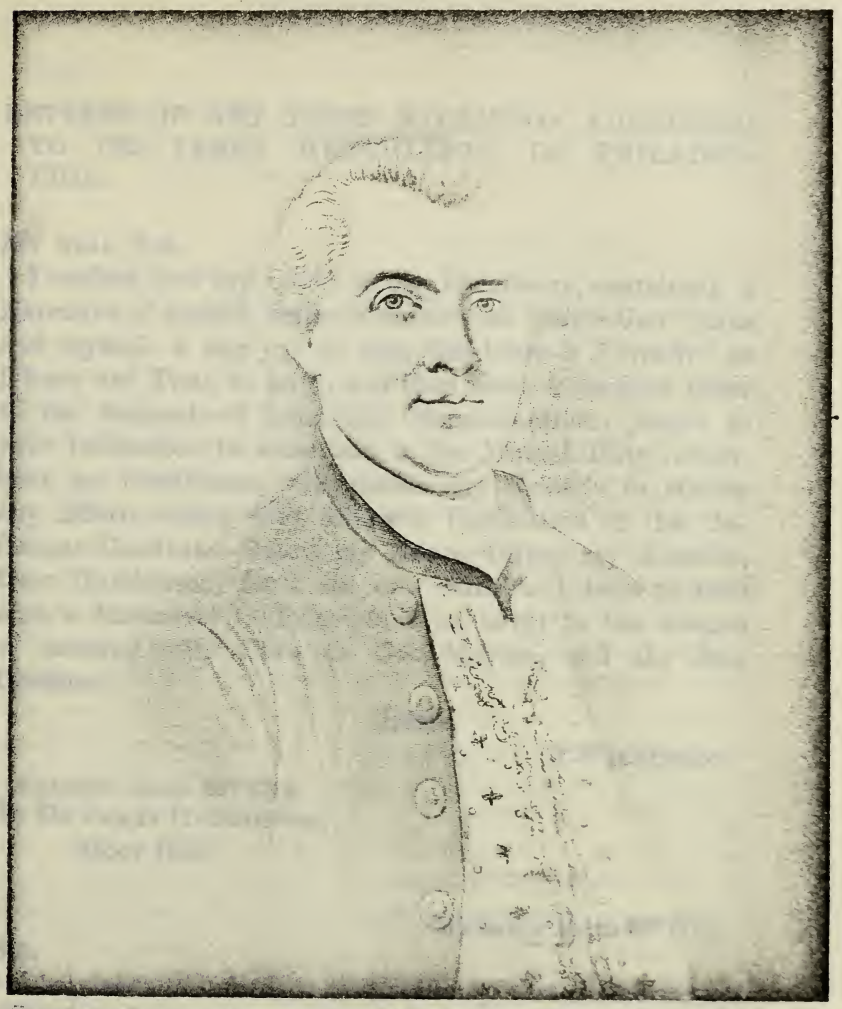
[1] Imlay has given a correct picture of these waterfalls of the Ohio in his Topographical Description of the Western Territory, page 51. On the same may also be found the city of Louisville, Fort Steuben which is called Fenny there, and the city of Clarkville, consisting of a few houses.

room. There being various matters to be attended to here and Putnam's barge having lost a rudder, we were obliged to wait for several days. During this time, with Capt. Doyle and Lieut. Clark, I carefully examined the falls from all points. The change to this wild stream, appears very surprising, after passing through 750 miles of fine quiet water, namely from Pittsburgh to this place. The falls are indeed remarkable as they have three different channels, each of which distinguishes itself. The one channel on the south side, consists of many steps of smooth and pointed rocks, the middle one shoots down, more like a mill dam, while the one on the north side, is a very rapid, tearing stream, full of large stones. Troublesome and dangerous as it is, to pass over them in low water, when the water is high the passage is made very easily, and without the least danger. The falls themselves consist of a deposit or bed of smooth rocks, that are high and low in spots. In the falls, at low water large and dry rocky banks may be seen, upon which everything which lodges on them is caught and petrified. Walnuts, hickory-nuts, acorns and the shells of the same, branches, deer and buffalo horns, roots, fish skeletons, snails etc. are frequently seen lying on the flat stones, but if an attempt is made to lift them up, they are found to be immovable and petrified. Near the falls on both sides of the shore there are beautiful Lombardy poplars which they here call cottonwood trees. Below the falls, in deep water, large quantities of rockfish are caught. In the summer the falls feed thousands of wild geese, and also the pigs of the inhabitants, which always find dead fish and the like there. The surrounding country is beautiful and level. Although the shores rise to a height of from 60–70 ft they are not precipitous. On the north side, at the upper end of the falls is Fort Steuben in which 60 men, militia, are quartered. On the same side, at the lower end of the falls is Clarkville, a little town on Gen. Clark's land. He received for his former services against the Indians from the state of Virginia a tract of 150,000 acres of land. On the south side of the Ohio and nearly opposite to the falls, lies the city of Louisville on a fine high plateau, which extends

many miles into the country, and is very thickly settled. In the city there are about 150 houses, all of them, with the exception of two, are built of rough wood. The ground on which the city stands, belongs to John Campbell, our former host in Pittsburgh, who also owns not far from there a fine country seat. A French gentleman by the name of Loekesang lives here, he has a handsome residence, a very fine garden, with a nursery of 10,000 young and nearly all grafted or inoculated trees. I was invited by this gentleman to dinner, he even offered me a room at his house as long as I remained, but I could not accept of his invitation. I found three former Muskingum merchants, one of whom, Henry Reed, lives in very comfortable circumstances, and has 5 stores at different places in the country. He wished to insist upon my coming to his house, but I remained with my companions, all of whom were encamped in tents below the falls. I only visited friends and acquaintances as I felt disposed. The city of Louisville, with Lexington, is named as the future capital of the Kentucky government, and is to be viewed in three weeks for that purpose by a commission appointed to do so. There are two highways to the rest of the towns in Kentucky from here. The only disadvantage of this place is, that the thick fogs which rise in the autumn from the falls, and cover it, produce fever, and this is very much against the growth of the place. The raids which the hostile warriors made, during our stay here, carrying off negroes and horses, caused us much anxiety on account of the safety of our Indians. However everything passed off satisfactorily, so that on Sunday 26th we could continue our journey.

We were now 140 souls distributed in four Kentucky boats, three barges, and several canoes. The party in our barge consisted of Mr Henry Vanderburgh, a merchant and the judge of Post Vincennes. We had not proceeded a great distance when game of various kinds was visible. What strikes the traveller most pleasantly here are the majestic Lombardy poplars growing on the shores of the Ohio, and under whose shadows the buffaloes hide from the summer's heat.

(To be continued.)



James Hutchinson

LETTERS OF GEN. JAMES WILKINSON ADDRESSED TO DR. JAMES HUTCHINSON, OF PHILADELPHIA.

My dear Sir.

I enclose you my Letter to his Excellency, containing a Narrative of certain Interviews between Major Gen[l] Gates and myself. I beg you to copy this letter & Narrative as I have not Time to do it, and then close & forward them to the General.—I hope this Representation, joined to your Inclination to some one, & the Mutual Duty incumbent on Gentlemen, will enable my Friends to silence any Efforts which may follow a Publication of this Infamous Conduct.—Guard my Honor during my Absence, Dear Hutchinson, for I am now sensible I have to deal with a Machaivel in Principle & an adept in the science of cunning.—My Love to Col. Moylan, and the dear Doctors.

Haste.

J Wilkinson

Reading, March 28th 1778.

To Dr James Hutchinson,
Moor Hall.

Manheim March 25[h] 1778.

Sir.

I beg leave to inform your Excellency that I find myself obliged to decline the seat which the Most Honb. Congress voted me in the Board of War, as the sedentary Life which attends the Duty would be ruinous to my Health; permit me to add, that I could not consistently do Business with Major General Gates, after the Uncandid, Artful, Ungener-

ous & Unjust Practices he has employed to Dishonour me.—
I am with Sentiments of Gratitude & respect
Your Excellency
Most Obdt & ready Servant
JAMES WILKINSON

Honb.
HENRY LAURENS ESQ^R
PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.
York Town.

KENTUCKY, 20th June 1785

MY DEAR HUTCHINSON.

. . . On the 12th May, I had the inexpressible pleasure to receive your favor of the 1st Jany: believe me, I as sincerely rejoice at the predominating influence of the democratical Interests of Pennsylvania & the United States, as I do in the espousal of our immediate cause, & their determination to assert & support their Right to the Independent Navigation of the Mississippi; for as on the former depends the general political happiness of the Union; so is the latter our only answer to domestic tranquillity, wealth, weight, & Importance—a Free Trade out of the Mississippi, & we are a blessed People indeed—it would push Kentucky most rapidly to Individual opulence & Public wealth, and would in a moment appreciate the Congressional Lands, several hundred per c—allowing us to live sumptuously, our products are so prodigious, that our exports would exceed our imports five fold. But without trade the Territories of Congress are valueless, & Kentucky will be subject to domestic discord, Individual Poverty & public wretchedness—'tis an inestimable prize & we are unanimously ready to wade to it thro. Blood, but our spilling all our Blood would be doing nothing without marine aid, unless we should make an attempt on the mines, several of which as soon as the Mississippi is cleared of Spanish Posts, might be possessed with great facility.

I doubt whether the acquisition would not produce more evil than Benefit, & do not now indulge the remark, from

any Idea or desire even to see the measure carried into execution, tho. I have no doubt it will sooner or later be the case. The People of Kentucky alone, unaided by Congress in any particular whatever, could dislodge every Garrison the Spaniards have on or in the neighborhood of the Mississippi before this day 12 months, with ease & certainty—but as I observed before this would be doing nothing, for a frigate, could as effectually cut off our Trade, as 50,000 Men at N. Orleans—*i.e.* presuming we can obtain no marine aid—and in this view I can but lament the acrimonious spirit which seems to be kept up by the People of the United States, & Britain—Surely 'tis hard policy & must tend to the Injury of both—but I suppose this disposition springs in the latter Case, from the enamoured Heart, of the vilest & weakest Prince that ever bore a Sceptre, and that our People recriminate.—

As the inclosed Letters are for your perusal and disposal, I will not repeat any matter they contain. You oblige me greatly by your proffers of service, & speak with the partiality of a Friend, when you mention the practicability of my obtaining an appointment under Congress, for the disposal of their Land—You ask me what I would prefer? 'Tis impossible for me to answer you, without knowing what is to be given away; I will therefore only observe that the Office which promises most to my dear Posterity, will be most acceptable to me, but every Congressional distinction however insignificant or profitless, is desirable, as tending to increase my local Credit & Consequence, which *vanity apart* are not inconsiderable in Kentucky—I feel without that I am as well qualified, for any Business which can relate to this Country, as my neighbours.—The Commission for establishing the boundary line of the United States, must be dignified & important.—I a few days since rec'd. a Letter from Governor Paca of Maryland & the *report* of a Committee of Congress, (I apprehend because altho it was stiled an Ordinance, the blank were not filled up) respecting the disposal of their Territory—they aim at extreme equity in this arrangement, & pay due regard to the Interest of

their Constituents, and therefore if my prayers would prevail the plann should succeed—but believe me my Friend, it will not do—besides having destroyed every ground of speculation, which will be found indispensably necessary, to give energy & dispatch to their sales—the reservations are so extensive & general, that no man, can possess himself of a considerable Body of Land connected. The usual around [?] Salt Springs &c, &c, puts it into the power of Congress to say when & how these Natural advantages are to be employed, which is a disguisting restraint—however were it not for the reservations, the plann, would be the most unwise which could have been adopted; The remarks of the Surveyors are to ascertain to the Purchasers, the quality of each, it follows that the Good Land would be immediately sold (if uncramped by the reservations) & the bad would be left on the Hands of Congress a worthless incumbrance, and I informed you from certain knowledge, that (exclusive of the Virginia Military Grant) from the Pennsylvania line to the big Miami, the proportion of the latter to the former is as 2 to 3—a Lottery in my opinion after the Surveys were compleated would be preferable to a vendue, for by opening a field for Enterprize, or speculation, we should carry off the bad with the good, & prov'd[d] the price was fixed, the execution would be attended with no difficulty or additional expense—and here the needy man would have as good a chance as the opulent Monopolizer in proportion to his property.—But I am convinced, the best plann for expediting the sale of this Territory, would be to open the office in the usual way, hold the Warrants at one Dollar (Certificates) pr Acre, and keep the quantity Issued a profound Secret until the Sales were compleated,—this Scheme is not so pretty in Theory, or if so republican a fare as that which Congress have adopted, but it will be found in practice the most effectual & that which will best answer our immediate Interests.—I trust I can tell you, without subjecting myself to the imputation of a sordid biass, that I now have in my Possession better information respecting the Country in question, than any Christian in

America, it is founded upon the written remarks, location & drafts, of several Persons who spent the last year, under immenent perils in exploring all that Tract, which is comprehended between the Carrying place at the Heads of the Wabash and Miami Rivers, from thence to the beginning, or S point of lake Huron, thence down to waters of the Strait, to lake St. Clair & Erie to the grand River, from thence to the Pennsylvania line on the Ohio, down the same to the Illinois Grant and thence a N. E. Course to the before mentioned carrying place—and I have in my possession, locations on the most valuable points comprehended within this Compass, made by a Circumferenter, with proper natural & artificial distinctions, to the amount of 1,950,000 Acres—These papers are committed to me in trust, to do the best with them I can, for the original proprietors & myself Jointly—if any opening presents you can commend me to such Individuals or Companies, as chuse to embark in speculations of extent, and I will engage to do their Business with perfection & on the most reasonable Terms—we can fit them, with soil of every quality, & in Tracts of any extent, not exceeding 60,000 Acres, Mill Seats, Fisheries, Oar Banks of Several denominations, carrying places, and Salt Licks—with Island or penensulas. —Holker or John Denlap would be good subjects, if the regulations of Congress gave an opening, and I am convinced in the end they must—however I must assure you, that I prefer the grand Interest of my Country so much to my own, that if I could influence Congress, they should not open their Land Office, except to discharge the Military Bounty, before they had opened the Trade of the Country, got possession of Detroit & entirely quelled the hostile spirit of the Savages—for under these circumstances I am persuaded ⅛ of the land they now offer at a dollar (in Certificates) would bring rapidly a pound pr. Acre—Attend to these matters particularly, you are my main reliance, consider our futures, as inseperable, and be satisfied, if I can hold up cleverly for a couple of years, I shall lay the foundation of opulence for Posterity, and if you can do any-

thing with the Land Suit by McCully, I shall have no cause for apprehension.—I now inclose you a deed & warantie, for . . . acres Land in two Surveys, which you will sell if practicable agreeable to the Proprietors to me, a copy of which is inclosed—You may exchange them for goods, agreeably to the Invoice forwarded you by Gordon on McCully, with cash sufficient to transport the Articles hither, provided you can fall in with a confidential Hand to conduct them on the Journey—remembering to increase the proportion of Rolls, Ognabrings, Coarse Linnens & Woollens.—but if you can sell for cash do it & reserve it in your Hands subject to my draft—The Land is out of dispute, is *of pretty good quality*, and the proprietors are men of responsibility—however, 'tis not of that kind which I would wish a friend to buy—You will be allowed the highest Commission that *ever* was given for doing Business, & if you could make more extensive sales, I could send you immediately several hundred thousand acres——

I was so much indisposed that I could not attend the late Convention, however a separation was unanimously agreed to, & a petition to the Legislature on the Subject was drawn & adopted—But in order to use and avail themselves of every caution, they recommended a selection of members in July, to form a convention, in August, with powers to alter all previous measures, but whose acts are to be final & conclusive. I shall certainly attend on this occasion, as in confidence I can assure you, the occasion was in a great degree intended for the purpose—we shall meet with no objections I apprehend to a Separation, & shall in all probability form one Constitution during December and January —and as on this important point depends not only our own immediate happiness & prosperity, but the fate & Fortunes of unborn generations, I must intreat you to give me your own, & to promise for me from the most able of your Acquaintance, your & their Ideas of that System of Government, which is best adopted to the genius of our Country & the Times. Hurry & theoretical notions had too much influence, in the formation of the Constitution of the re-

spective States—The Errors which have sprung from these Causes, [ ] & practical effects, may enable us to avoid —give me all the reasoning you can collect in favor of a single & against a double Branch of Government, et vice versa the powers of the executive, qualification of Electors & Representatives—donation of office &c, in short a complete modification of the whole—I am sensible I impose a grevious task upon you, but flatter myself you will go through it promptly & cheerfully—the happiness of a growing great Country is interested & the weight & Importance of your friend nearly concerned—Let me hear from you on these various subjects as soon as possible, but be sure you write by a safe direct opportunity—

Inclosed are two Surveys, for poor Moylan with a letter which you will please seal & deliver taking his receipt for the Surveys agreeable to the inclosed form, with two witnesses, this you will have recorded & forward me by the first conveyance. I trust this may serve to satisfy the demands of some Creditor & tend to the worthy Fellow's relief, for I sincerely regard Him & hope he continues to deserve it.—

I inclose you Copies of three letters one of which I wrote Mr. Collins from Fort Pitt, the other from this place; He had a right before the receipt of these to be offended, but has candor enough I trust before this to do me Justice—of the £200 which Shull sent Him by me, I was obliged on his own private Acct. to disburse upwards of £60., in equiping Mrs T. for the voyage down the River, for which I have undeniable vouchers, tho. Hughgo I make no doubt, very speciously attempts to prove the Contrary, as he has asserted it in a Letter to myself, but I can bring him to no settlement, by Arbitration or any other way—In Confidence that Mr Collins has done me Justice on this subject I beg you to present my regard to Him, & my best respects to his lady. . . . .

Thy Affectionate Friend

J Wilkinson

WILDERNESS 4th May 1786.

MY DEAR FRIEND:

I wrote you by Mr. Coburn in Febry, since which period I have not received a scrip of your pen. . . . I wish to open my mind to you respecting the policy and politicks of this country, but believe me I am afraid, what are you? Separatist or anti-Separatist? As a warm Democrat & a friend to equal Liberty I should suspect you to be the former, but from your silence on the subject, I have some apprehensions that you may be the latter, for it was not usual with you to be silent on any subject which met your support or approbation.

Independent of these doubts, I realy have not time to enter upon the subject—you know that I was originally opposed to the measure, but circumstances have occurred to alter my opinions, the Conduct of Congress & particularly of the State of New York, respecting the navigation of the Mississippi, is disgraceful, dishonest and indeed hostile to this Western World. Congress by not asserting the right of the Union to the navigation of the Mississippi, a right derived from Nature & founded on Treaty, betray the trust reposed in them. 'Tis a pity we have so soon lost sight of those principles of general Justice & that tenacity of private Right, which produced the American Revolution. Should our federal Rulers fail in their duty from want of virtue, I hope policy will admonish them, that there are certain immutable Laws, which operating on the minds of Freemen, would prompt them to seek for Security to their Interests, by every means within their reach. The people here from ignorance of the subject, & from that blind obeyance which used to Characterize the Colonies, are divided in sentiment —but they shall be inform'd or I will wear out all the Stirups at every Station—pray watch Congress for me, & give me your full & candid opinion of what we have to expect from them, with respect to the navigation of the Mississippi, & the reasons on which you formed your opinion. . . . & believe me always your unalterable Friend.

JAMES WILKINSON.

KENTUCKY Augt 18th 1786.

MY DEAR HUTCHINSON.

I have addressed you several short letters lately on subjects of Business, & I now beg leave to write you on the same. I have just brought my Acct. with Wickoff & Clark to a close, the amt of cargo & expenses £898.17.6. Virginia money—½ of which they were bound by solemn obligations to pay me by the 1st June last, of which they totaly failed. Wickoff is now I expect with you, & Clark gone to N. Orleans—the Burden is too much for me to stand under unless I derive assistance from you thro' the aid of the Land which you have for sale, & of this I have strong confidence as Mr Marshalls writes on the 6th July that he had been empowered to draw, & you write me the 6th June—"I have every prospect of disposing of them, (as the patents are received) to great advantage, & expect very speedily to part with the 20,698 acre patent." I however obey the Dictates of necessity, & draw upon you with Terror, particularly as my drafts will be heavy—they will all be at 30 Days Sight, & I trust if it is within the reach of your finances, that my Bills will be honored. My ruin I fear will follow a disappointment, I trust in God & in your exertions, that you will be able should the land not be sold, to fund upon it. The 32,000 Acre Tract is alienated to you & the patent will Issue in your name—it is clear of all dispute, & the Tract is realy valuable. The 20,000 & odd acres of J. H. Craigs which I put you in June, lies near the Big Bone & is really worth ½ a Dollar per acre. I did not inclose you the power of attorney, promised in my last, but I now have it by me, signed, acknowledged, & certified by the Clerk of our Court. I will send it in the 1st next month by Mr. Gordon—you may therefore sell the Land without hesitation. I look forward to Independence & the highest Reputation in this Western World. But God knows I toil, I pay dear for it—the hazard I am in drawing on you occasions me sensations, which I would not voluntarily encounter for £1000 Guineas. I have as yet drawn on you only for £40.0.0.—but in the course of this & the next month, I shall I fear be obliged to

swell this sum to £400.0.0.—You will observe that I want no Goods, unless you can send me a few articles, by Gordon of which I shall write you. My Brother in Maryland having promised to Import me immediately from Europe any Cargo I may want. The one moiety of the product of Fowler & Marshalls Land must be reserved subject to my orders, the other is Marshalls. I shall by next May have Patents for 100,000 Acres, which I shall be able to sell at 6d. per Acre, tell me what chance they will stand for a market & tell me what Mr. Moylan has done with the patent forwarded Him for 29,000 & odd Acres.

Our Convention will send an Agent to Congress in November, to sollicit our admission into the confederacy, & to Imploy the abelest Council in the State to advocate our Cause. I could be this Man, with £1000 for the Trip, if I would take it, but I have other Business to attend. The Gentleman, will I expect be Col. T Marshall, Mr. Sebastian, Mr Brower, or Col. Bullett. I expect Sebastian will be the man—whoever he is he will be particularly recommended to you.

I carried my Election 240 ahead & I find by the observation of several Bystanders, that I spoke 3½ Hours, instead of 1½ as I think & before mentioned to you. I pleased myself, &, what was more consequential, every Body else, except my dead opponents—these I with great facility turned into subjects of ridicule & derision.

I have experienced a great change since I held a seat in the Pennsylvania Assembly—I find myself now, much more easy, prompt, & eloquent in a public debate, than I ever was in private conversation, under the greatest flow of spirits. . . . Believe me very affectionately

& Sincerely your Friend

J. Wilkinson.

ESSAY OF AN ONONDAGA GRAMMAR, OR A SHORT INTRODUCTION TO LEARN THE ONONDAGA *AL.* MAQUA TONGUE.

By Rev. David Zeisberger.

CONTRIBUTED BY JOHN W. JORDAN.

(Continued from Vol. XI. page 453.)

10.) *Of Comparison.*

The Onondaga make use of the usual 3 Degrees, the Positive, Comparative and Superlative, but they are all indeclinable.

a.) The *Positive* signifies the quality of a Thing simply and absolutely; as:

hĕtke, *high;* ojaneri, *good;* Inu, *far;* ostwiáha, *few.*

b.) The *Comparative* heightens or lessens that quality and is signify'd by the addition

hagà or tschihha.
Hetkehaga, *higher.*
Ojanerechtschihha, *better.*
Goános, *great, big.*
Goanohaga, *greater, bigger.*
Inuhaga, *not very far.*
Ostwikhaga, *fewer.*

c.) The *Superlative* heighten or lessen it to a very high or low Degree, and is express'd by adding the syllable *tschik* to the positive:

Hetkechtschik, *the highest.*
Èssowotschik, *the most.*
Ojanerechtschik, *the best.*
Ascungtschik.
Oqueki, has: Oquektshi.

Some have no superlative but instead of it the adverb aquas, *very*, is used, as:

Aquas goáno, *very great* or *the greatest.*
Aquas inu, *the farthest.*
Aquas hechtége, *the lowest.*
Aquas niôhak, *the least.*
Aquas jahónisse, *the longest.*

d.) Some have no Comparative.

Jòs, *long,*	superl.	iôntschik.
ase, *new,*	"	asétschik.
agajung, *old,*	"	agajungtschik.
oftéa, *old,*	"	oftäentschik.
gates, *thick,*	"	gatentschik.
scænoà, *slow,*	"	scænontschik.

e.) They often express the Comparative with a positive, as:

Inuhága, *not very far off.*
Inu, *far off.*
Inuhaga ganochseráge, *to Ganochserage is it not far?*
Inu Anajota, *to Anajot it is far,* I.E. *it is farther to Anajot than to Ganochserage;* or tochsgéhha, *near;* Inu, *far.*
Tochsgehha Onokaris Inu Zeninge, *Onokaris is near Zeninge is far,* or *it is farther to Zeninge than to Onokaris.*
Tachioni, *the Wolf,* ostwi, *little or small.*
Ochquari, *the Bear;* goáno, *big.*
Hostwi Tachióni gagóano Ochquari; *Small is the wolf, big is the Bear, or the Bear is bigger than the wolf.*
Positiv. Inuhága ne Cajugu, *it is not far to Cajugu.*
Comp. Inu genechsatage, *it is far to Genechsatage.*
Superl. Zoneshio aquas Inu, *Zoneshio is the farthest.*

f.) They use often the Positive instead of the Superlative, as:

Schung, *who;* gagóano, *great;* I.E. *who is the greatest?*
I gagóano, *I great or I am the greatest.*
his sagóano, *thou art the greatest.*
raüha hagoano, *he is the greatest.*
schüng óstivi, *who is the least?*
I/gástivi. *his* sastivi. ranha hostivi.

Some Adverbs have Degrees too, as:

háchsa, *directly, immediately.*
Superl. hachsátschik
néto
Superl. netóchtschik
schihoquàdi, *thither.*

Comp. schiquadihha, *farther thither.*
Igéchtschik, *very early, is only superl.*
Iorhengechtschik, *tomorrow very early.*

B.) Of Pronouns.—A Pronoun is a Part of speech which has respect to and suplies the place of a Noun, as: háto, he says, (instead of John says) are Simple or Compound.

1.) The simple are:

J, I, his, thou, raŭha or haŭha, He, aŭha or gaŭha, She, plur. Ni, we, his, ye, honúhha, they, onúhha, they, (femin.) are Substantives.

2.) Schu, schúne, schunáhote, nahóte
who, which, whom, which, such &c.

are adjectives and indeclinable.

a.) They are *Demonstratives*, as:

J, *his*, nene, (*he*) tohne, (*His*,) nenge, (*she*).

b.) *Relatives*

ne, (*who which ;*) nēne (*the same*) tohne (*these*).

c.) *Possessives*,

his, thine; I, mine; hauha, *his.*

3.) They are express'd by Integra & inseparables, as:

I agaowoschóh, *my All.*
I agonachrozera, *my Hat.*
his sanuchrozera, *thine Hat.*
rauha honuchrozera, *his Hat.*
ni unquanuchrozera, *our.*

The following inseparables express I, you, he, she, we, mine, thine, his, our, yours, their, in the Nouns & active Verbs, where they are præfixt:

1me Pers.	*2d Pers.*	*3d Pers.*
go	sa	ha
ge	se	ho
wage	wassa	waha
wage	wasse	waho
t'ya	wasch	t'ha
t'ge	tessa	tho
wakge	tischi	go
		tiago } *feminine*
		t'go } *feminine*
		tago } *feminine*

	Plural	
unqua	s'wa	hoti
tiunqua	s'we	hati
taqua	tessa	hunti
tschiaqua	tesse	hunna
t'wa	tess'wa	wahunna
tiaqua		wahunti
		t'hoti
		t'hati
		t'hunti
		gunti } *fem.*
		t'gunti } *fem.*

they are all except: wage, wassa, wasse, waha, waho, Iaqua, tschiaqua, wahunna, wahoti, put before the Nouns and all before the active Verbs, as:

ganochsaje, *my House.*
sanochsaja, *Thy House*
ho or t'honochsáje, *his House*
go or tiagonochsáje, *her House*
unqua or tiunqua or t'wanochsaje, *our*
s'wa or tess'wanochsáje, *your*
hotinochsaje, *their*
(fem.) guntinochsaje, *their House.*

sing:	gatakke, *I run*	plur:	unquatakke, *we run.*
	satakke, *Thou* "		s'watakke, *ye* "
	hatakke, *he* "		huntitakke, *they* "
	gotákke, *she* "		guntitakke, *they run* (*fem.*)
	T'garachtàt, *I walk*		t'warachtàt, *we walk*
	tessarachtàt, *you* "		tess'warachtàt, *ye* "
	t'harachtàt, *he* "		t'hotirachtàt, *they* "
	t'gorachtàt, *she* "		t'guntirachtat, *they* " (*fem.*)
	Wagenŏnta, *I give*	plur:	unquanŏnta, *we give*
	Wassanŏnta, *you* "		s'wanŏnta, *ye* "
	wahanŏnto, *he* "		hatinŏnta, *they* "
	jagononta, *she* "		guntinonta, *they give* (*fem.*)

4.) The Pronouns I, you, he, she, we, ye, they, in the passive Verbs are express'd by the following Præformatives:

Sing.	*Plural.*
Junki	tiunqua
Jetsa	Jets'wa
t'huwa or	t'huwati or
Wahuwa	wahuwati
guwa (fem.)	guwati (fem.)

Note. It is to be observed by the præformatives, that *g*, *s*, *h*, are properly the distinguishing Letters of the Persons, and go is *nota tertiæ* feminine. Singul. *g* & *s* generally take *a*, except where the Verb has *e* in the Syllable, where *g* & *s* shall be præfix'd. *h* makes often use of the Vowel of the Syllable to which it shall be præfixed, yet it joins commonly an *o* particularly when it shall be fix'd before *e*.

5.) In the Verbs beginning *Wa* or with *T.* the distinguishing Letters are placed between the first & 2d Syllable of the Word, as: *Wageris*, *wasse*, or *wascheris*, *T'giatara*, *T'essia* or *Tshiatara.*

and when *Waga*, *wage*, notify the first Person *Wassa*, *wesse*, signify the 2d. and *waha*, *waho*, the third Person, of course.

In the plural *g* changes into *q* therefore is *nota prima plur. unqua*,* instead of *ungwa S. nota secondæ personæ* takes *w* with an apostrophe.† *h in tertia masc.* & *g in tertia fem.* accept *ti*, therefrom comes *hati*, *hoti* &c & *gunti* (in *fem*) or *hunna*, *wahunna*, *wahunti*, *t'hoti*, *t'hati*, *t'hunti.*‡

c.) When I, his, *rauha*, *haŭha* (*fem*) *aŭha*, *gaŭha*, *Ni*, his, *honuhha* (*fem*) *onúha*, are used as Interrogatives they receive the Syllable *ke* at the end, as: *Ike?* Is it I? *hiske?* is it you? *hauhake*, is it he? item *nenè*, him, the same, *nenkè?* is it him, the same? it.

d.) *Interrogatives* are *schu?* who? *Schune?* who? *schunahote*, which? *nahote ot*, what? *Otnahoto ochti*, what? *ochtināh*, what is it thou?

e.) *Reciprocals*, viz *tat* is a præfix, as:

Jonoràchqua, *to love.*
untatenorochqua, *to love one another.*

f.) *Gentils* from whence or of what nation, is a compound of nahóte (which) & ojáta (Person) otne sajatóte? of what nation or from whence are you?

* Often *tiunqua*, *jaqua*, *tiaaqua*, *tschiaqua*, *t'wa.*

† Sometimes *S'wa S'we;* sometimes *Tess'wa.*

‡ The reason will appear from the sound & nature of the Verbs. In the passive Verbs the Persons are distinguished by the same Letters, but in *prima singulari g* changes into *k.*

Otne hajatote? *from whence is he?*
Tiorhænska ne hajatote—*he is an Englishman.*
Tiochtiagéga ne hajatóte—*he is a Frenchman.*
Sgachnechtatichróhne hajatóte—*he is a Low Dutchman.*
næjatóte—*to be of some Nation.*

Of Verbs.

1.) A Verb is a part of Speech which signifies to be, to do or to suffer. It expresses what is affirm'd or said of things, and is the most necessary and essential Part of a sentence, without which it cannot subsist.

2.) The most Verbs have two forms of Voices, the Active and Passive; the first expresses what is done by the nominative and the second what is suffered by it or done unto the nominative. The ending of both is alike in this Tongue, but the præformatives are changed, as:

Wagerio, *I beat.*
Junkerio, *I am beaten.*
Genoróchqua, *I love.*
Junkinorochqua, *I am loved.*

3.) They are declined by voices Moods, Tenses, numbers & Persons.

The *voices* active & passive.

Th *Moods* the *Indicative*, affirming or denying positively or asking a question, as:

Assa norochqua, *love thou.* Assáto, *say thou.*

The *Infinite* expresses the signification of the Verb in general, as:

Ionorochqua, *to love.*

The *Tenses* are but 3. Present, past, to come. *Present*, gato, *I say. past*, gatochne, *I said. future*, ngato, *I shall say.* conjunctive & optative they have not.

4.) The *Numbers* are singular and plural—the *Persons* 3. first 2d & 3d.

5.) The *Gender* male & female in the 3d Person have different præformatives as well in the singular as plural number.

6.) A Verb is either simple or compound, as:

agohni, *to make.* (*simple*)
Jocharachgóni, *to make bread.* (*comp*)
tiohujóni, *to make a canoe.*
otschischtóni, *to make fire.*
tionochsóni, *to make a House.*

It is either transitive as:

Wagerio, *I beat*—t'garachtat, *I walk.*

Intransitive.

Waktenha, *I staid.*
Watgota, *to sit.*

or *reciprocal*,

gattatteris, *I beat myself.*

Where the active or passive implies a continuative it is express'd by the suffix *hattie*, (this the Participle,) as:

genoróchqua, *I love.*
genorochquahâttie, *I am loving.*
Wagin, *I come.*
Waginhâttie, *I am coming.*
Wagióte, *I labour, work.*
Wagiotehâttie, *I continue at work.*
Wagenochwâchtani, *I am sick.*
Wagenochwachtanihattie, *I am continuously sick.*

Untiatádco, to see one another, has the Present and future Tense, and is only used in the following cases, as:

honiáwo t'giatádco, *he is glad to see me.*
niáwo tia or tessiatádco, *I am glad to see you.*
niáwo t'hiatádco, *I am glad to see him*
niáwo t'giatádco, *I am glad to see her.*

plur.

niáwo t'watádco, *I am glad that we see each other.*
niáwo tess'watadco, *I am glad to see you.*
niáwo t'huntiatádco, *I am glad to see them.*
niáwo t'guntiatadco, " " "

Future.

sing. honiawo 'nt'giatadco, *he is glad that he shall see me.*
niáwo 'ntschiatádco, *I am glad that I shall see you.*
" 'nt'hiatádco, *I am glad that I shall see him.*
" 'ntica or t'giatádco, *I am glad that I shall see her.*

plur. niáwo 'nt'watádco, *I am glad that we shall see one another.*
" 'ns'watádco " " " *ye.*
" 'nhuntiatádco " " " *them.*
" 'nguntiatádco " " " *them* (*fem.*)

Impersonal Verbs.

Present.	*Perfect.*	*Future.*
Iotóni, *it grows,*	Iotoniacherong,	'njotoni.
Otschtaronti, *it rains,*	Otschtarontiung,	'njotschtaronti.
Otóri, *it is cold,*	Otorechquo,	'njotori
Ogerŏnti, *it snows,*	Ogerontiung,	'njogerŏnti
wastisk, *it boils away,*	wastisqua,	'nwastisk
gannonniáje, *it freezes,*	ganonniajentáchqua,	'nganonniáje
t'gaworŏntat, *it blows hard,*	t'gaworontochne,	'ngaworontat.
t'gaworontowáno, *it blows very hard.*		
From Onerachtozera, *the leaves come*		
Onerachtŏnta, *the leaves come.*	Onerachtontachqua.	'njonerachtŏnta.
onerachtaë, *the leaves fall.*		'njonerachtäe.
From Ochnecanis, *water,* & tajejăganha, *to come out.*		
tiochnekidgăenha, *the water flows out,*	tioch-thachqua	'ntiochnek.
ochrotong, *it is deep,*	ochnotéchqua,	'njochnotong
ochnotónnie, *the water is rising,*		'njochnotonnie.
ostisk, *the water is low*	ostisqua,	'njostisk.
tiostehâttie, *the water falls,*		n'tiostehâttie.
tiochzikere, *the water is muddy.*		
tiochnawáte, *it flows fast.*		
t'gannerachtachrichta, *the leaves turn red or yellow.*		
ganákeri, *it has, it gives*	ganakerichqua,	'nganákeri
gawonio, *it is a question,*		'ngawonio
tioráti, *the air draws,*		'ntioráti
niawo, *it happens or will happen.*		
niawos, *it usually happens.*		
wazahóniong or waocachs, *it leaks.*		

The Verb *kejintéri* agrees fully with the English, I know, and signifies, I can, I know, I am acquainted, as:

kejintéri ne ogechroni, *I can make gunpowder.*
" ajechwistóni, *I can do smith's work.*
" ne johâte, *I know the road.*
" zathonochsaje, *I know his house.*
khejintéri, *I know him.*
junkientéri, *I am known* (*passiv*)
t'hawajentérichne, *he was known.*

kejintéri ganatajengóna, *I am acquainted in Philadelphia.*

Schienterike assarigóna, *do you know.*

Schienterikè assarigóna, *do you know Virginia or are you acquainted in Virginia?*

1ma Conjugatio.

Active Voice		*Passive Voice.*	
Present			
sing. 1.	Genorochqua, *I love*		Iunkinoróchqua, *I am loved*
2.	Sanorochqua, *you* "		Ietsanoróchqua, *you are* "
3.	honorochqua, *he loves*		t'huwanoróchqua, *he is* "
4.	gonorochqua, *she* "		tguwanorochqua, *she is* "
plur. 1.	t'wanorochqua, *we love*	plur.	tiunquanorochqua, *we are* "
2.	S'warochqua, *ye* "		Ietswanorochqua, *ye are* "
3.	hotinoróchqua, *they* "		t'huwatinorochqua, *they are* "
4.	guntinorochqua (*fem*) *they love.*		t'guwatinorochqua, *they are* "
Perfect.		*Perfect.*	
sing.	Wagenorochquásqua, *I have.*		Iunkinorochquásqua, *I have been*
	Wassa or Sanorochquásqua, *you have.*		Ietsanorochquásqua, *you was*
	waho or honorochquásqua, *he has.*		t'huwanorochquásqua, *he* "
	gonorochquásqua, *she* "		t'guwanorochquásqua, *she* "
plur.	Unquanorochquásqua, *we have.*	plur.	tiunquanorochquásqua, *we*
	S'wanorochquásqua, *ye have.*		jetswanorochquásqua, *ye*
	hotinorochquásqua, *they have.*		t'huwatinorochquásqua, *they.*
(fem.)	guntinorochquasqua, *they have.*		tguwatinorochquásqua, *they.*
Future		*Future.*	
sing.	'ngenoróchqua, *I will love*		'njunkinorochqua, *I shall be loved*
	'nsanorochqua, *you* " "		'njetsanorochqua, *you shall be loved*
	'nhonorochqua, *he* " "		'nthuwanorochqua, *he shall be loved*
	'ngonorochqúa, *she* " "		'nguwanorochqua, *she shall be loved*
plur.	'nt'wanorochqua, *we* " "	plur.	'ntiunquarorochqua, *we shall be loved*
	'nswanorochqua, *ye* " "		'njetswanorochqua, *ye shall be loved*
	'nhotinorochqua, *they* " "		'nt'huwatinorochqua, *they shall be loved*
(fem.)	'nguntinorochqua, *they will love.*		'nguwatinorochqua, *they shall be loved*

Active		*Passive.*	
Pres. Imperative.		*Pres. Imperative*	
sing.	Assanoróchqua, *love thou*		ajetsanoróchqua, *be thou loved!*
plur.	Ass'wanorochqua, *love ye*		ajets'wanorochqua, *be ye loved!*

Imperative Future

sing.	nassanorochqua, *you shall love.*	
	nahonorochqua, *he* " "	
	nagonorochqua, *she* " "	
pl.	nass'wanorocqua, *ye shall be loved.*	
	nahotinorochqua, *they* " "	
(*fem.*)	naguntinorochqua, *they* " "	

Infinite.

Pres. Jonorochqua, *to love,* Jewanoróchqua *to be loved.*

perf. Jonorochquasaqua, *to have loved,* Jewanorochquásqua, *to have been loved.*

fut. 'njonorochqua, *to be about to love,* 'njewanorochqua, *to be about to be loved.*

Participle.

generochsquahattie, *I am loving.*

Wario, to beat.

	Active			Passive.		
	Present.			*Present.*		
singul.	Wageirò,	*I beat*	sing.	Junkerio,	*I am*	*beaten.*
	wascherio,	*thou* "		Jetserio,	*you*	"
	wahárrie,	*he* "		t'huwarrie,	*he*	"
	Jogorrie,	*she* "		Juguwarrie,	*she*	"
pl.	unquárrie,	*we* "	pl.	tiunquarrie,	*we*	"
	S'warrie,	*ye* "		jets'warrie,	*ye*	"
	hotirrie,	*they* "		t'huwaterrie,	*they*	"
(*fem.*)	guntirrie,	*they* "		joguwatterie, (fem)	*they*	"

	Perfect.	*Perfect.**
sing.	Wageriòche, *I have beaten*	Junkeriochne, *I have been beaten.*
	wascheriochne, *thou*	
	waharriochne, *he*	
	jagorriochne, *she*	
pl.	nnqua or t'worriochne, *we*	
	S'warriochne, *ye*	
	hotirrióchne, *they*	
	guntirróchne, *they*	

[* Adds *ochne* to the present with *em* the last letter.]

Future.		*Future.**
sing.	'ngerio, *I will or shall beat*	
	'ntscherio, *thou*	
	'nshórrie, *he*	
	'njagórrie, *she*	
pl.	'nt'warrie, *we*	
	'ns'warrie, *ye*	
	'ns'hotirrie, *they*	
	'nguntirrie, (fem) *they*	

Imperative.		*Imperative*	
Præs.		*Præs.*	
sing.	Ascherio or siro *beat thou*	s.	Ajetserio, *be thou beaten*
pl.	Ass'warrie, *beat ye.*	pl.	ajets'warrie, *be ye beaten.*

Imper. fut			*Imper. fut.*			
sing.	nascherio,	*thou shalt beat.*	sing.	najetserió,	*you shall be beaten*	
	nahárrie,	*he shall* "		nahuwárrie,	*he* "	"
	nojagŏrrie,	*she shall* "		nayuwárrie,	*she* "	"
plur.	nass'warrie,	*ye shall* "	pl.	najets'warrie,	*ye* "	"
	nohotirrie,	*they shall* "		nahuwatirrie,	*they* "	"
(fem)	naguntirrie,	*they shall* "	(fem)	naguwatirrie,	*they* "	"

Infinitive.		*Infinitive*	
Præs.	Waërio, *to beat*	Præs.	aguwarrie, *to be beaten.*
perf.	waëriochne, *to have beaten*	perf.	aguwariochne, *to have been* "
fut.	'nwaërio,	fut.	'nguwarrie

Waóge, to see.

Active.		*Passive.*	
Infinit		*Infin.*	
Præs.	Waöge or óye *to see,*	Præs.	guwáge, *to be seen.*
Perf.	Waogéhha, *to have seen,*	Perf.	guwagehha, *to have been seen.*
fut.	'njóge, *to shall see,*	fut.	'nguwáge, *to shall be seen.*

* Adds *'n* before the present.

(To be continued.)

THE QUARREL BETWEEN CHRISTOPHER SOWER, THE GERMANTOWN PRINTER, AND CONRAD BEISSEL, FOUNDER AND VORSTEHER OF THE CLOISTER AT EPHRATA.

BY SAMUEL W. PENNYPACKER.

[The personal controversy between these two remarkable men, which became bitter and caused, as we are told, "a great uproar through the land," certainly had a curious origin. Perhaps in no locality other than provincial Pennsylvania did ever so much commotion come about through the interpretation of the stanzas of a hymn. The results of the quarrel were as important for the bibliography of Pennsylvania as its origin was curious. It was not long afterward before the Dunker Monks at Ephrata established a printing-press of their own, from which issued a mass of literature interesting and attractive to the antiquarian, the poet, the musician, the theologian, and the historian, culminating in the production of the most immense literary work of colonial America. The hymn, whose interpretation led up to such discussion and to such important consequences thereafter, is numbered 400, and may be found upon page 450 of the "Zionitischer Weyrauch's Hügel oder Myrrhen Berg, &c., Germantown, C. Sauer, 1739," the first book from the press of Sower, and the first book printed in German type in America. This book contains six hundred and ninety-one hymns, some of them collected from other sources, but most of them written at the cloister by Conrad Beissel and other inmates of the institution. All of the information we have had hitherto concerning the controversy is contained in the following extract from the *Chronicon Ephratense*, that invaluable, quaint, and almost inaccessible record of the happenings of the cloister. It says,—

"Now the printing of the beforementioned hymn-book was pushed along, but toward the close of it an affair happened which caused a great uproar through the land, and which will now be narrated. The printer Sower had become acquainted with the Vorsteher in Germany during an awakening, and regarded him as a God-fearing man, but when his foresight placed him at the head of a great awakening on the Conestoga the good soul began to suspect that he was trying to be a Pope. In addition, Sower was secretly displeased with the Vorsteher because he had taken the former's wife, who had separated from her husband, under his protection, and made her sub-prioress in the Sisters' house. At that time opinions in the land as to the Vorsteher's person were divided. The

most and greatest part held him for a great witchmaster, and things which had happened certainly had this appearance. It has already been narrated that the spirit which controlled him at times made him invisible, of which, by the way, this may be told. A justice sent a constable after him with a warrant who took with him an assistant named Martin Groff. As they came to the house they saw him go in with a pitcher of water. They followed after him, and one held the door while the other searched the house from top to bottom, but no Vorsteher could be found. But when they went out and were some distance off they saw him go out.

"But his brethren, who were about him daily and might have seen many such things, were of the other opinion, and thought as the Jews about John whether he was not Christ. Even Brother Prior Onesimus said he was much impressed with such thoughts, all of which was known to the printer. When in printing the hymn-book the hymn was reached beginning, 'Weil die Wolcken-Seul aufbricht,' he was convinced that in the 37th verse the Vorsteher intended himself. He called the attention of the proof-reader to the place, but this one asked him whether he believed there was only one Christ. This made him so angry that he wrote a sharp letter to the Vorsteher, pointing out to him his spiritual pride. The Vorsteher, who in things of this sort never was backward, sent a short answer of this import: 'Answer not a fool according to his folly,' etc. 'As vinegar upon nitre, so is he that singeth songs to an heavy heart.' Prov. xxv. 20. This letter excited the good man's ire, and he determined to avenge himself for the affront. So he gave out a writing against the Vorsteher, in which he mentioned what a remarkable combination of stars ruled over the Vorsteher, and how each planet gave him its influence. From Mars he got his great sternness, from Jupiter his graciousness, Venus caused the women to seek after him, and Mercury taught him comedian tricks. He even found in the name Conradus Beisselus the number of the beast 666. In this way the relations between the printer and the community at Ephrata were for many years broken, and were not again restored until the printer's wife returned to him. From that time on until his death he lived on good terms with the Vorsteher and all of the Solitary (Einsamen), and by many acts of kindness won their lasting regard."

Recently, however, I have come into the possession of a hitherto unseen and unheard-of little publication whose full title is: "Ein Abgenöthigter Bericht: oder, zum öfftern begehrte Antwort, denen darnach fragenden dargelegt. In sich haltende: zwey Brieffe und deren Ursach. Dem noch angehänget worden eine Historie von Doctor Schotte und einige Brieffe von demselben zu unseren Zeiten nöthig zu erwegen. Germantown: Gedruckt bey Christoph Saur. 1739."

It is Sower's own account of the controversy and contains the correspondence between himself and Beissel to which reference is made in

the *Chronicon Ephratense.* Throwing light as it does upon the establishment of the earliest German printing-press, upon the publication of the Weyrauch's Hügel, and upon the characters and beliefs of these two conspicuous figures among the German settlers of Pennsylvania, it is an important contribution to our information. I have translated it entire, except the appendix relating to other matters, and have endeavored to render the hymn in English verse, preserving as correctly as possible the spirit and versification of the original. The text alone would hardly seem to justify the criticisms of Sower, but when we view it with a knowledge of the remarkable influence wielded by Beissel over the Monks and Nuns of Ephrata, and the intense mysticism of the doctrines inculcated there, we are apt to conclude that there was some foundation for the interpretation he put upon it. Even the writer of the *Chronicon* himself says, "Since he [Beissel] was a Saviour of his people and their transgressions were loaded upon his back it need not be wondered that he let some of his hard priest-like position appear in this hymn, but it was hidden so reasonably in figures of speech and put in such doubtful shape that no one could know for sure whom he meant."]

An Extorted Statement or An often requested Answer laid before those asking for it. Containing two letters and their cause. To which is appended a history of Dr. Schotte and some letters from him useful for instruction in our times. Germantown. Printed by Christoph Saur. 1739.

Preface.

To those who have so often, as well verbally as through letter, desired to know the ground and cause for two writings about a hymn lately printed, I give the following information through the press, in order to avoid much correspondence. The affair happened in this way: Through the stars which ruled my birth or through nature I received some facility in acquiring the different kinds of handiwork without much trouble. I devoted this skill to the welfare of my neighbor, for the most part because it was my disposition so to do and partly without considering about it. I was finally seized with an earnest desire to dedicate the remaining period of my life to my God and his son Jesus Christ, and with my little strength to honor his service and truly to do it in such a way that my fellow-men should be

benefitted by it; but only upon the condition that it should please God and be acceptable to him. God opened a way for this purpose by the aid of one[1] who was of a like opinion with me in this matter, and I secured a German printing-press. But before it reached me, it was strongly impressed upon my mind that often, in our efforts to do good, the enemy accomplishes his purpose as much as God himself is served. Therefore, I then prayed earnestly to God that he would not suffer it that I unwittingly, much less knowingly, should be such an unholy instrument. Scarcely were my materials on hand, before a hymn-book, which had long been desired by many people, consisting of many choice beautiful hymns for the instruction of God-seeking souls, was ready, and I eagerly undertook to print fifteen hundred copies, according to the request of the publisher. And, after I had seen the parts and the register, I should have been pleased if I had printed instead two thousand copies, because I believed they would soon fall into the hands of those who wanted them, and a new edition would be difficult to publish. However, the edition remained as it was at first determined. I took hold of the work with loving earnestness, and gave every effort to have it soon finished. But as one foolish hymn after another came before me, such as I did not think suitable, I sometimes shook my head a little, but always with patience. At this time Peter Miller[2] came to me and said, "Amateur poets sometimes do such work." When I inquired concerning the author, I found that my conjecture was not incorrect, as his life and walk and the fruits of his belief show. Still it was not my affair. But presently there came a special command that certain hymns, which were by no means the poorest, should be left out and certain others should be inserted, that this one which hereafter follows should be the first in the Rubric, and that since already another stood before it, there must be a change made, and it must be commenced with a larger letter, and the

[1] Jacob Gass, a Dunker.

[2] The Prior at Ephrata, whose cloister name was Brother Jabez.

former initial be taken away, as if it were something important. It was left like all the others of its kind, in its place. But as so many have asked for the reasons and so many false reports have been scattered far and wide among which shrewdness itself could not detect the right color, I have determined to publish untouched and unchanged first the hymn itself; and secondly my letter, but only in order that the little calf may be seen away from the really spiritual and worthy hymns and that the wrong may be seen, and then the answer which I thereupon received from Conrad Beissel without his signature, and finally some thoughts concerning it for the information of the reader.

CHRISTOPH SAUR.

GERMANTOWN, Sep. 24, 1739.

THE HYMN.

Weil die Wolcken-Seul aufbricht,
Die Gott Israel zum licht
Vorgestellet, drauf zu sehn
Wenn sie sollen weiter gehn.

Darum legt die Hütten ein
Und gebt acht auf ihren Schein,
Zu verfolgen unsre Reiss
Auf des höhesten Geheiss.

Es ist Zeit wir wollen gehn,
Und nicht länger stille stehn,
Weil die Seule geht voran
Und uns leuchtet auf der Bahn,

Wer nun würde stille stehn
Weil die Wolcke fort thut gehn,
Würd sich scheiden von dem Band
Und von Gott verheissnem Land.

Nun wir Mara sind vorbey,
In der grossen Wüsteney,
Wird mit vieler Segens-Lust
Nun erfüllet Hertz und Brust.

Doch, wenn wir nicht halten Wacht
Auf die Seule in der Nacht,
Die im Feuer leuchtet für
Den Weg, so verlieren wir.

While the cloud-like pillar gleams,
Which through God for Israel beams
So that they may easily know
When 'tis time for them to go,

Leave your camp now out of sight,
Fix your eyes upon the light,
Follow in your journey's course
Promptings from the highest source.

It is time for us to go,
Be no longer still and slow,
While the pillar goes before,
Lights the path we travel o'er,

He who longer still would stand,
Follows not the pillar brand,
Severs him from all the host—
Promised land to him is lost.

Now we hard on Mara press
In the lonely wilderness,
Every heart and each man's breast
Fill with hope that he is blest.

If we keep not careful watch,
Fail the pillar's gleam to catch,
Throwing light upon the way
Surely then we go astray.

Doch weil es nun ist an dem,
Dass wir wieder angenehm
Unserm Gott, zu seinem Preiss,
Kommen wir auff sein Geheiss.

Und erwarten seinen Rath,
Wie er es bechlossen hat,
Und auf weitern Unterricht,
Wie und wozu wir verpflicht.

Soll es währen noch viel Jahr,
Dass wir durch so viel Gefahr
Müssen wallen in dem Stand
Auf dem Weg zum Vatterland,

So woll jedes bleiben treu
In der langen Wüsteney
Dencken, dass nicht Gottes schuld
Sondern vielmehr seine Huld.

Die uns durch so lange Jahr
Selbst will machen offenbahr
Was in unserm Hertzen ist,
Und wie bald man sein vergisst.

Wann es geht nach unserm Sinn,
Meynen wir es sey Gewinn,
Und vergessen Gottes Eyd,
Und die grosse Seligkeit.

Darum schenckt Gott anders ein,
Als wir es vermuthen seyn,
Speisst uns erst mit Bitterkeit,
Eh er unser Hertz erfreut.

Darum sammle dich aufs Neu,
Israel, und sey getreu,
Folge seiner Zeugen Licht,
Das er in dir auffgericht.

Sieh jenes Israel an,
Die gereisst nach Canaan,
Wie sie Gott so lang versucht
Unter seiner scharffen Zucht.

Vierzig Jahr sie musten gehn
In so viel Versuchungs Weh'n,
Oft ohn Wasser, oft ohn Brod,
Bald geschlagen seyn von Gott.

If we now our God would please,
If we would our joys increase,
His commands we will obey
Honor him in every way.

In the order of our quests
Follow only his behests,
Follow whatsoe'er befalls
Where the voice of duty calls.

Should it be for many years
That we still must suffer fears,
Must we wander whence we stand
On our way to Fatherland,

Be ye steadfast in the stress
Of the weary wilderness,
Blame not God for what ye find—
Rather think that he is kind.

What we bear for many a year
He will make entirely clear,
What is deepest in our heart
And how soon we all depart.

When we have our wish secure
Then we feel too safe and sure,
Love of God we soon forget,
Happiness we have not yet.

But 'tis not as we suppose,
God does otherwise dispose,
Sends us first some bitterness
Ere a joy our heart does bless.

Gather then yourself anew,
Israel, and be ever true,
Seek the witness of his light
That within will guide you right.

Look upon that Isra-el
Which to Canaan journeyed well
How so long the Lord did urge
With his very sharpest scourge.

Forty years they went along,
Felt the weight of biting thong
Wanting water, wanting bread
Driven by their God so dread,

Bis die alle fielen hin,
Und verdurben in dem Sinn
Der Gedancken, nach dem Bild
Womit ihre Lust erfüllt.

Da sie nach so vielerley
Lüsternd wurden ohne Scheu
Sich zu weiden ohne Noth
Wurden sie gestrafft von Gott.

Dass der grossen Sünden-Macht
Ihn zum Eyffer hat gebracht,
Und er sie umkommen lies
Durch der feurigen Schlangen-Biss.

Alles dieses ist geschehn
Ein exempel, dran zu sehn
Dem nachkom'nden Israel,
So betreten diese Stell.

Auf uns zielet dieser Rath,
Den man dort gesehen hat,
Da inzwischen Gottes Treu
In der grossen Wüsteney.

Sich erwiesen in dem Bund,
Machte sein Erbarmung kund,
Thät sie heilen von dem Biss
Da er sie ansehen liess.

Ein erhöhtes Schlängelein,
Der so treue Diener sein
Hat empfangen den Befehl,
Und gebracht auf ihre Stell.

Sieh, oh wehrtes Israel!
Der du bist an jenes Stell
Aufgekommen, dencke dran
Was dich dieses lehren kan.

Und wie du auf deiner Reiss
Bissher auf so manche Weiss
Dich verschuldet im Gericht
Wider deines Bundes-Pflicht.

Und durch deine Ungedult
Dich vergriffen mit viel Schuld,
Da du dich sehr hart gestellt
Wider den, so Gott erwählt.

Till at last they all succumb,
Sense and spirit overcome,
And in images they trust,
Filled are they with sordid lust.

Since they were so filled with lust,
Shamelessly so placed their trust,
Fed themselves without a need
God did punish them indeed.

For his anger did begin
At the grossness of their sin,
And he let the serpent's fire
Gather round them in his ire.

This which happened long ago
Is a warning for us now,
An example that we may
Show the Israel of to-day.

And this counsel does disclose
What each mortal surely knows,
That God's loving tenderness
Through the weary wilderness,

In his promise did appear,
And was made entirely clear,
When he healed the serpent's bite,
When he raised within their sight,

Brazen serpent on a pole,
Faithful servant of the soul,
A partaker of his grace
Who has brought them to the place.

See! oh, Israel! good and true,
What there is to say to you—
You who, too, that place would reach
Think of what it you can teach.

How you often on the way
Have been sought and found astray,
On your duties how you slept,
How your pledges were not kept.

How impatient you have been,
How you were inclined to sin,
Hard the pains might God inflict
Had he chosen to be strict.

Und mit Höhnen ihn verspott
Gleich der bösen Sünder-Rott,
Die nicht achten Gottes Ehr,
Und nicht folgen seiner Lehr.

Der vor dich getragen Leid
In so vielem harten Streit,
Must von dir verachtet seyn
Unter so viel Trug und Schein.

Der doch träget deine Last,
Und dabey hat wenig Rast,
Und vertrit dich im Gericht
Wenn des Herren Zorn anbricht.

Der dir so viel Guts gethan
Auf dem Weg nach Canaan,
Und mit Gottes Lehr und Rath
Dich sehr oft erquicket hat.

Der dich aus der finstern Nacht
Hat zu Gottes Licht gebracht,
Von Egyptens Dienstbarkeit
Und Pharaons Macht befreyt.

Dass dir drauf ist worden kund
Der so treue Gnaden-Bund,
Durch die Tauffe in dem Meer,
Da ersaufft Pharonis Heer.

Wurde dorten jederman
Heil, der nur thät schauen an
Die erhöhte ehrne Schlang,
Was solt dir denn machen bang.

Weil des Menschen Sohn erhöht
Und zu deinem Heil da steht,
Wer ihn ansieht ohn Verdries,
Wird geheilt vom Schlangen-Biss.

Der sehr viele hat verwundt,
Dass sie so viel Jahr und Stund
Noch nicht bracht die wahre Frucht,
Die doch Gott all Tage sucht.

Dieses hat dir zugedacht
Der zum öfftern sonst veracht,
Der dich liebet und vertritt,
Und bey Gott um Gnade bitt.

How with scorn you him abused,
Like vile sinners him refused
Who his honor never prized
And his teachings have despised.

Him who often suffered sore—
Many a pang for you he bore,
Who for you must be bewrayed,
Oft by mean deceit betrayed.

Who with burdens still is pressed
From your loads has little rest,
Pleads your cause in many ways,
And the wrath of God allays.

Who has done you good a store
On the way to Canaan's shore,
Kindled life within your soul,
Brought you under God's control.

Who has oft in darkest night
Pointed you to heaven's light,
From the might of Pharaoh saved,
When in Egypt you have slaved.

That for you it might be shown,
Covenant of grace be known
Through baptism on that coast
Where old Pharaoh's hosts were lost.

Since each man is safe and sure,
Should he look with eye secure
On the snake raised up to view,
Why should fear then weaken you?

'Tis the Son of Man you see,
For your safety raised is he,
Who then looks without despite
Curèd is from serpent's bite—

Bite that has so much alarmed,
Has so many hurt and harmed,
That though seeking night and day
They have failed to find the way.

This has he for you devised
Whom you often have despised,
Who yet loves and intercedes,
And with God for mercy pleads.

Sehet, Sehet, Sehet an!
Sehet, sehet an den Mann!
Der von Gott erhöhet ist
Der ist unser Herr und Christ.

Der sagts uns beständig für:
Kommet her und folget mir,
Ich bin euer bestes Theil
Wodurch ihr könt werden heil.

Er ist die erhöhte Schlang
Bey dem rauhen Weg und Gang,
Durch die wird gezeiget an,
Wodurch man genesen kan.

Wann wir dann genesen seyn,
Wird das Lager wieder rein,
Und des Herren Gegenwart
Kan uns leiten auf der Fahrt.

Und der Wolcken-Seulen Gang
Machen einen rechten Klang,
Dass es schalle und erthön,
Und ausruffe, fort zu gehen.

Diese Bahn ist uns gezeigt
Von Gott, der sich zu uns neigt,
Richtet auf sein Hütt und Stadt
Unter uns aus lauter Gnad

Sind wir denn mit Gott versehn,
So wird unser Thun bestehn,
Und wir werden mit der Zeit
Gehen ein zur Seligkeit.

Darum freue dich aufs Neu,
Israel, und sey getreu,
Bleibest du auf dieser Bahn
So erreichst du Canaan.

Look and look and look intent,
See the man who here is meant.
He is raised by God the high'st
He's indeed our Lord and Christ.

He is saying constantly:
Come you here and follow me.
I am your most helpful friend,
I can save you in the end.

He is the uplifted snake
By the way which we must take
Through which we may surely know
How that we may better grow.

When completed is the cure,
Will the camp be clean and pure,
And the presence of the Lord
On the way will help afford.

Then the cloud-like pillar starts,
Rings resounding and departs,
Calls aloud that we may know
It is time for us to go.

'Tis the banner God has set,
He's inclined toward us yet,
Raises o'er his holy place
From the fulness of his grace.

We shall have the Lord's support,
All our work will be in sort,
And as time grows less and less
Go we on to happiness.

Israel! then rejoice anew,
Steadfast be and good and true,
To this banner hold you fast
Canaan you will reach at last.

The objections which I had to this hymn were as follows: The pillars of fire and clouds are the martial and mercurial spirit. Nearly all the words of the four first verses of the hymn say as much. Then his command to depend upon him and do nothing except what he says especially in the 14th and 23rd verses. In the 25th he complains that he is despised by his brethren as well as by the sinners, and that he had already brought them to God's light, as is to be

seen in the 31st verse. In the 33rd and 34th, he makes the assertion, that if one should look upon him without despite he would already be free from the bite of the snake. In the 36th, he says, he who has made this little hymn, ought never to be despised. In the 37th, 38th, and 39th verses, Mercury springs to the front, and jumps upon the throne and cries, "Sehet, sehet," etc. And this stuff people are to sing! Surely one's hair ought to stand upon end at such blasphemy if he were not stricken blind or mad.

Now follows my letter to Conrad Beissel:

I have until within the last few days been in hopes that the work which I did, and caused to be done, upon the hymn-book would redound to the honor of God, to whom I am under the greatest obligations for all that he has done for me and all creatures, and will still do through time and eternity, and I remain bound to Him even though I should see no good day more. It is his way that when we dismiss all which is not from Him He fills us with that which more concerns Him. The result is that we love all that is from Him, and have a hatred and horror for all that does not please Him. In the beginning much remains concealed, while we are in the shoes of children as the saying is, which in the years of youth and manhood become as clear as day. I have therefore with patience overlooked some hymns, which I had rather sacrificed to Vulcan by throwing them into the fire. I thought something might be given to the first alphabet scholars as it were according to their ability and which they could grasp and that it would not be wise to break down the first rounds of the ladder. I have willingly let go what the amateur poets through vanity and sentiment have brought together, especially since Brother Peter Miller said to me: "The worst soldiers are always put in the front rank." Taking this view of it I had nothing more to say. Afterward so much of wood, straw, stubble, and trash came that it went pretty hard with me. It was very deeply impressed upon me that each

work should be a birth to appear in eternity, not in the lightness of the mercurial pictures drawn by men, but to stand in the clean way. However I remained in hope that something better would come in the future. A still greater misery befell me, to wit: In the beginning of the 16th Rubric or division there was placed a silly hymn which, on first reading through it, I considered to be among the stupid, amateur poetry and I wished that something better could be put in its place. In the 29th verse it runs:

> "Der doch träget deine Last
> Und dabei hat wenig Rast."

There I stopped and read the remainder over again, but while I was away attending to some other business, it was printed. I was not at ease about it. I regarded it as among those great errors of which to-day the world is full and wished that it might still remain among those rejected. I thought if it should come, either here or in Germany or any where else, before the eyes of an enlightened spirit who has found and delights in God and his Saviour as the true rest, he might be deceived by such miserable stuff after such a magnificently brilliant title-page and I should be ashamed because of my negligence. I might perhaps be able to find excuses that would answer before men, but in my breast would burn a fire that would be quenched by no excuses. I thereupon asked Brother Samuel[1] whether he did not think that a great mistake had here occurred in writing, since unskillful poets are often compelled for the sake of their rhyme to use words which destroy the sense. He said to me, "No, I should let it stand just as it is." I consented to it then because it suddenly occurred to me, that in the pine forests the industrious ants gather together straw, wood, earth, shells, and resin from the pines which they carry underneath into the hill and that this is called "Weihrauch." This pacified me to some extent because it accorded with the title. Still I could not reconcile the

[1] Samuel Eckerlin, whose cloister name was Brother Jephune and who later was driven from the Community.

word "Zionitisch" with it, because upon Mount Zion no such collection can be found as I have described. There God is praised in silence. There are there only two hymns. The one is the song of Moses running, briefly, like this: "Lord, thou and no other hast delivered us from all our enemies and dost protect us and lead us through outer danger." Exodus, 15th. There is no fighting nor quarreling more, no time, no change of day and night. It therefore occurred to me that you must have a wonderful idea of Zion since you fix its nature but know nothing of and have not experienced real and actual death. The second song is short. It is the song of the Lamb which is strangled. It runs thus: "All is fulfilled. There is nothing more to do. Now praise we our God in silence."

But you said in the meeting when I was there that every verse was suitable for Mount Zion. That is easily said if a man has a well smoothed tongue. You will find out otherwise however. Meanwhile I regretted my lost time over the book and that my hope which had something honorable for its object should have so entirely failed. I spoke with Brother Samuel once more about it in what way it was to be understood. He answered me that I should not blame them for being Catholic, which I from my heart wished to be true since in the Community of Christ there are no others. For instance we believe in the mediation of holy ones and truly of those who are afterward in life. This caused me no scruple because it is my daily exercise notwithstanding I am still not holy. What then will the holy do. But when he asked me whether I believed only in one Christ I would have been shocked into a cold fever if true quiet had not prevented. I then read the whole hymn over again once more and saw the man who was intended and it gave me great sorrow. But I remembered how far the human race depart from God and that man is inclined to idolatry and easily moved to make images and to honor himself while the tendency to depart from the true way (found only in the ground of the spirit and by the abandonment of all creature things) is born in him. He is therefore

easily led to act with sects, parties, and like divisions, and one believes and receives from another that which is pleasant without real experience of what will be the outcome. It may be therefore that it ought not to be taken amiss in the writer of the hymn, since as the eyes are so do they see. Still I have no real peace about this affair. I determined then to write to you and to ask you whether you had not seen or read this piece or had not considered what a dreadful production it is; to say that without serious difficulty it can still be taken out and in its place something to the honor of God, or for the good of weak souls, can be put in where the two pages are cut out which I will do at my own expense; and to ask you whether on the other hand it was done according to your wish and inclination. If so, I would remind you that the good Moses could not go into Canaan because he honored not the Lord when he said "must we fetch you water." See what an afflicted burden-bearer and once true knight Moses was and where is such a Moses? Herod may well have made such an unusually good address to the people that it caused them to say, "That is the voice of God and not of man." The angel struck not the unwitting people because they were inclined to idolatry but him who accepted the Godly honor. Already you suffer yourself to be called "Father."[1] Oh, would there were a single one who comprehended Christ and respected and carried out the commands of him who absolutely forbid that you should let any one call you master and should call any man "Father" upon this earth! The misery is already great enough, as you yourself said to me significantly. You are the greatest God in the community. When you sat still everything fell back. You had once for sometime given up the meeting and every thing fell away. Your dearest brethren hastened to the world. Even Brother N. had made a wagon in which to ride to the city. There were other instances which you told me. And did you not the other day in the meeting significantly and at great length speak of this idolatry and how they went whoring after you

[1] His cloister name was "Vater Friedsam."

as is indeed the case. And now will they with full throats call and sing:

> "Sehet, sehet, sehet an!
> Sehet, sehet an den mann!
> Der von Gott erhöhet ist
> Der ist unser Herr und Christ."

If Brother Samuel had not said to me concerning it that the hymn had a *double* meaning and one might take it as he chose, I should have considered the last as referring to Christ and looked upon the "God without rest" as a compulsion of the verse. Are there not already molten calves enough? Is not the door to Babel great enough that they should build another little door through which they can call loudly, "See here is Christ" in order to entice souls to themselves? Do not misunderstand me. I value highly the favor of returning to you. But I fear God will play his own part in it and leave the beautiful vessel empty lest otherwise upright souls might suffer an injury which certainly would cause no single child of God pleasure. Much more were it to be wished from the innermost heart that all the might of the stars were entirely lost and that Christ were indeed the ruler in you and the whole community. This would give me great joy to look upon through my whole life long. There is nothing more to say except that, with the permission of Brother Michael,[1] I should like, if I might, to take out this one hymn and put another in its place because it concerns the honor of God. It is easy to see that I have no earthly concern in it and that the influence of no man's interest has anything to do with it. There are still as many as a hundred hymns with which you can feed the senses that they die not. I am sure that a thousand pounds would not persuade me to print such a one for the reason that it leads the easy way to idolatry. If it were my paper it would have been already burned. But my suggestion was met by the brethren only with scornful and mocking words and at last they said, "Now we will pack up the paper." I

[1] Michael Wohlfahrt, who in the cloister was Brother Agonius.

thought "they have still better right to it than the Hussars." With such disposition of the matter for my own part I can be at peace. God will find a way to protect his honor. As to the rest I love thee still.

CHRISTOPH SAUR.

Thereupon I received the following letter instead of an answer.

In some respects the subject is entirely too bad for me to have anything to do with thee about it since it has been written: "Answer not a fool according to his folly, lest thou also be like unto him."

"Answer a fool according to his folly, lest he be wise in his own conceit." This is the reason that I have been moved and thou needst not think that thou hast made a point. But that I should be like unto thee from having to do with thee will not happen since we already before made the mistake of having too much to do with thee. Thou wast not fit for our community. Therein also was fulfilled what has been written: "As he that taketh away a garment in cold weather, and as vinegar upon nitre, so is he that singeth songs to an heavy heart."

If thou hadst not always acted in this way it might perhaps have been thought that there was some reason for it, but since thy whole heart is always ready to blame what is above thy conceited Sophist—Heaven, it is no wonder to me that thou comst now puffed up with such foolish and desperate conceits: through which thou layest thyself so bare that any one who has only ordinary eyes can see that thou art indeed a miserable Sophist. If thou hadst only learned natural morality thou wouldst not have been so puffed up. A wise man does not strive to master or to describe a cause of which he has neither comprehension or experience but it is otherwise with a fool. Thou ought first to go to school and learn the lowly and despised way of the Cross of Jesus before thou imaginest thyself to be a master. Enough for thee. This may inform thee that

henceforth I will have nothing to do with thy two-sided double-hearted odious and half hypocritical pretensions of Godliness, since thy heart is not clean before God otherwise thou wouldst walk upright in the way and go not the crooked way thou dost.

One almost springs aloft when he sees how shamefully the name of God is misused.

The world sings its little song and dances straight and without hesitation to hell and covers it over with the name of God so that the deception and wickedness may not be seen. Believe me, thy way is sure to come before God, thy juggling tricks and spiritual slight of hand which thou, from the natural stars and not in the true fear of God, hast learned will come to judgment: and I say to thee as the word of truth that if thou dost not make atonement and change thy heart thou mayest expect a wrathful and terrible God, since the Lord is hostile to all that is double-faced and false. Indeed the paths which lead out from thee run through one another so wonderfully that the wonder is that God does not punish at once as he did the rebellious pack, Korah, Dathan and Abiram.

Thou hast also in thy letter to me said that a fire burned in thy breast over this or that. It would be a good thing if that fire, if there is one, should consume thee until there should nothing remain but a soft and sweet spring of water in which thy heart might be mollified to true repentance. Then indeed couldst thou for the first time learn to know rightly what is from God and what from nature, what from God and what from the stars in the heavens.

When I know of a man that he does not bend before God but still walks in his own highway, I accept absolutely no judgment as in Godly affairs, but say to him freely that he wash and clean himself before I can have anything to do with him.

As concerning those other things in which one man has to do with another it has also come to an end. Further and lastly it is my determination to remain as I have said above. I am so tired of the untruth of men that if I were

not under the greatest necessity, if God did not plainly intend and it were not His will that I must be needed for the cause of conscience, I would rather be dismissed into the still everlasting. On that account I would have prayed that I might henceforth be spared from such defamation, but should it give pleasure to load me with more of it I shall bear myself as one who knows not that there are such things in the world. I will at the last be separated from all and will no further participate either pro or con. Still will I in some measure continue my writing and do it again if circumstances require it.

What I have still further to say is this: that henceforth all right over my person shall be taken entirely out of thy hands, since thou for many years hast gone to work so wonderfully about it as if thou hadst bought it for a sum of money in order to do with it according to thy pleasure. Thou must not think that one is blind and foolish and dost not see what thou hast in mind. It does not even please me that I could write German to thee since thy envy and falsehood are so great that it is not easy to measure them. Therefore I consider thee entirely unfit to be a judge in Godly affairs, and for this reason I have little or nothing to answer to thy letter. Thou hast no experience in the way of God, for thou all the time walkest thine own way.

Comment.

We have here now heard a voice, whether it came from Zion or Mount Sinai may those judge who know the difference. I am inclined to make a comment upon each word but every one may make his own as he chooses. I wish him only the soft and sweet spring of water which he needs instead of the fiery zeal of Sinai. Otherwise when he goes forth soon will he make fire fall from heaven, which we already hear crackle in his letter, and do signs and wonders. If I had thought he would take the trouble to describe my propensities and his I would have sent him a great register of the old Adam in me which I could describe much better than he. Since I for a long time have

besought God to enable me thoroughly to discern their enormity and since I had found so much to do with myself I am ready to say the simple truth so that no man need be disturbed about me. And this is the reason for my long silence, and also for my thinking seldom of his person, not that it is too bad for me but because it can neither aid nor hinder me. If I were in such a position as he is, to give my nature possession I should need only the princes and powerful who still to a considerable degree have rule over the conceited Sophist-heaven, since they desire much to rule upon earth and to fasten their throne there. I could also have given him certain information that I have been beloved by many spiritual persons who truly were more beautiful and purer than those whom he holds above Christ. God had also so willed it that I for the same time cannot otherwise believe than that all is good to which the same spirit impelled me. I blame not the spirit which impelled him. He is God's creature. I only say: he is not clean and is still far from the spirit of Christ. I rejoice that he praises God the Lord as all good spirits do, and in that respect I love him. I hate only the untruth which he brings to light and wishes to lay in the hearts of men. Therefore is he a blending of good and evil. And when he as that one which through a maid had its pleasure in telling only the truth pointed out the Apostles to men, and sought to further their happiness (Acts ch. xv. v. 17), I should leave him in the place for which he is good and as for myself rather hunger until death for the completeness of my Jesus. In that I make myself entirely clear. In like manner I make a distinction between Conrad Beissel as he stands in his still well proportioned attributes derived from the old-birth or birth of the stars.

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When one approaches him he shows first the complaisance of Jove; when one bends, rises, and heeds well he finds his sweetness and lovingness from Venus, his solar understanding and mercurial readiness. If one fails a little he shows

the gravity and earnestness of Saturn. If one attacks only a little his spiritual pride he shows the severity of Mars with thunder and lightning, popely ban, the sword of vengeance and fiery magic. What can induce a weak soul in sorrow and need to come and lay itself humbly at his feet when the unclean spirit, which takes pleasure in the fact, triumphs in this way. Therefore would I counsel no one upon whom he has laid his hands or who has been baptized by him or by another Father since all those who have given up the world and the gross fleshly life are prepared to be the habitations of a spirit, and through their own freed spirit and its suggestions and the help of other spirits they have the power to torture a deserter and to put him in pain of body and soul and also those who have little strength and do not depend with their whole hearts upon the true living God, but rely particularly upon their own virtues. Conrad has subjected me to this proof. He has intruded upon my ethereal past, which has taught me how it goes with others, and how I have need of the support of my Saviour and to press into the centre of love or heart of Jesus where this aqua fortis cannot reach. Therefore as I have said I would counsel no one without higher strength to oppose this Spirit. It is very powerful. And yet they are not bound by this strong magic, they have a free will. God has for many years shown me how many good and beautiful spirits there are which still are not clean. Already in the time of the Apostles there were many spirits which had gone beyond their limits in this our world. I therefore do not believe all that every one tells me, even when they speak through a spirit and speak only what the spirit says. The moon goes through many phases and this is also his nature. It has happened because of his beautiful and well proportioned nature that he would like to be something great. He looked upon the dumb creatures in their deformity and wanted to bring them to the right. For this purpose he took the means method and way which pleased him. So that now all must dance according to his will and do what through the power of his magic he compels. But I also

want to say that I by no means overlook what he has in him which is good, and I freely recognize that he has much that a true Christian cannot be without, and this many innocent people see and they are drawn to him by it. But for myself I can never be attached to him for the reason that I know that his teaching hitherto has been a compound of Moses, Christ, Gichtel and Conrad Beissel. And no one of them complete. The spirit of Moses stood up boldly and prayed for the people who had disobeyed him and done wrong. Should his people oppose him how soon would Mercury spread his wings. Christ was of an entirely different disposition. He knew his betrayer long before, and when the latter came to take his life he was such a gentle lamb that he said, "Friend! wherefore art thou come?" He received his kiss. He cured the ear of Malchus. Our dear Conrad is very far from anything of that kind. In many points he is very close to Gichtel and still closer to the little beast, described in Revelations 13 ch. 11 v. which represents his peculiarity in spiritual things. His figure is such that if one beseeches him he has the horns of a lamb, but if one touches his temper only a little he speaks like a dragon and is indeed not to be regarded as the first great beast whose number is 666. He is not indeed so beast-like but is also not clean Godly, but is humanly peculiar and no other than CVnraDVs BeIseLVs. DCLVVVI. 666.

If he had not for the future entirely taken out of my hands all right to his very holy person I could and would have opened up to him the inner ground of his heart a little between me and him alone but I must now be entirely silent for I am bound hand and foot. It seems to me that during the two weeks which he took to write to me he did not once remember him who suffered an entirely different opposition from sinners, who although he was in the Godly image held it not for a wrong to be like God but lowered himself and became as a man. But this one must be regarded as a God and therefore the little calf should and must remain upon its place. When my Saviour

had done a notable deed he desired that it should be unknown. See to it that no man learn of it. But to this God, we must sing his folly. If I had had ten hymns in the book and had been requested I would have taken them out, but Conrad is not accustomed to having his will broken. I could have overlooked it in silence out of natural morality and as a printer but it concerned the love of God that I should not be silent. The spiritual harlotry and idolatry would have been increased and confirmed by my support. I would rather die of hunger than earn my bread in such a way. It would go worse with me than with the primate in Poland who proclaimed a king upon the throne and could not keep him there. I have, without baptizing myself and letting myself be baptized four times (like him) placed myself under the standard of my Saviour and loved him and still have not had the freedom to ask of him that he make an officer of me, but I gave myself to him as he best knows as poor clay to be formed in his hand as by a potter, or to be thrown into a corner as clay which is worthless. He has nevertheless appointed me as the least beneath his standard as a sentry to watch my post, a watchword has been given me which reads "Love and humility." When I then upon the dark nights call out "who goes there" and this parole is not answered me I know that it is no good friend and no man of ours. I must then fire my piece so that each upon his post may be warned. But since the Commander is not far away he will himself have a care. To him only the honor. For me willingly the shame.

NEW YORK AND PHILADELPHIA IN 1787.

EXTRACTS FROM THE JOURNALS OF MANASSEH CUTLER.

There has been lately published in Cincinnati a book of more than ordinary interest to Philadelphians, as some parts of it refer to our city at a very interesting period of its existence, and afford pleasant glimpses of the social life and manners of our ancestors.

The book in question is the "Life, Journals, and Correspondence of Manasseh Cutler." A typical New England man. A native of Connecticut, who had studied divinity and medicine; served as a chaplain during the Revolution; established a private school at Ipswich after having quitted the army; acquired a reputation as a botanist, and at the time he visited our city, July, 1787, agent of the Ohio Company,—a company formed in Massachusetts, and composed principally of Revolutionary veterans, who intended purchasing and settling on a tract of land on the Ohio. On their behalf Dr. Cutler visited New York and laid their plan before Congress, and as the Federal Convention was then in session in Philadelphia, he extended his journey to that city to pay court to the members and to make the acquaintance of a number of persons to whom he bore letters of introduction. In New York he was introduced on the floor of Congress, and met Richard Henry Lee and Colonel Edward Carrington, of Virginia, General Arthur St. Clair and General John Armstrong, of Pennsylvania, Colonel William Few and Major Pierce, of Georgia, William Blount, of North Carolina, Huger, of South Carolina, and other members of Congress. He was also introduced to David Rittenhouse and Dr. John Ewing, Provost of the University of Pennsylvania, and Thomas Hutchins, Geographer to the United States. He dined with General Knox,

whose lady he describes, in language more forcible than polite, "as very gross," but "her manners," he adds, "are easy and graceful. She is sociable," he continues, "and would be very agreeable were it not her affected singularity in dressing her hair. She seems to mimic a military style which to me is disgusting in a female. Her hair in front is craped at least a foot high, much in the form of a churn bottom upward, and topped off with a wire skeleton in the same form covered with black gause, which hangs in streamers down to her back. Her hair behind is in a large braid, turned up and confined with a monstrous large crooked comb. She reminded me of the monstrous cap worn by the Marquis La Fayette's valet—commonly called on this account the Marquis' Devil."

Another day he dined at Sir John Temple's, Consul-General of Great Britain to the United States. Sir John is spoken of as the "complete gentleman but his deafness renders it painfull to converse with him. Lady Temple is certainly the greatest beauty notwithstanding her age I ever saw. To a well proportioned form, a perfectly fine skin and completely adjusted features, is added a soft but majestic air, an ever pleasing sociability a vein of fine sense which commands admiration and infuses delight. Her smiles for she rarely laughs could not fail of producing the softest sensibility in the fiercest savage. Her dress is exceedingly neat and becoming, but not gay. She is now a grandmother but I should not suppose her more than 22: her real age is 44." This flattering picture may to some extent have been the result of local partiality, for a note by the editor of the volume informs us that Lady Temple, like Dr. Cutler, was from Massachusetts, being the daughter of Governor Bowdoin.

"Our dinner," he says, "was in the English style, plain but plentiful, the wines excellent, which is a greater object with Sir John than his roast beef or poultry. You can not please him more than by praising his Madeira and frequently begging the honor of a glass with him. The servants were all in livery. The Parlor, Drawing room and

Dinning hall are in the second story—spacious and richly furnished. The paintings are principally historical and executed by the greatest masters in Europe. The Parlor is ornamented chiefly with medals and small busts of the principal characters now living in Europe made in Plaster of Paris or white wax." But as the day was Sunday, Dr. Cutler was obliged to leave Sir John's hospitable table at half-past three to attend service at St. George's Chapel, where he sat in the Governor's pew and heard an elegant sermon from Dr. Moore. But what seemed to strike him more than the sermon was the time selected for taking up the collection. In the Presbyterian church that he had attended in the morning it was made after singing the last Psalm, but at St. George's, Dr. Cutler writes, "In the time of the first singing the Wardens visited every pew with their pewter plates into which every person, small and great, put a copper. This seemed to be 'killing two birds with one stone' for while they were engaged in singing their Psalm (for every body sings), they were as busy in fumbling their pockets for the coppers and rattling them into the platters."

Dr. Cutler also dined with Colonel Duer, whose wife was a daughter of Lord Sterling. "She is," says Dr. Cutler, "a fine woman though not a beauty very sociable, and with most accomplished manners. She performed the honors of the table most gracefully was constantly attended by two servants in livery, and insisted on performing the whole herself. I presume he had not less than fifteen different sorts of wine at dinner, and after the cloth was removed besides most excellent bottled cider, porter and several other kinds of strong beer."

One of the customs that was new to Dr. Cutler he narrates as follows: "I was struck this morning with a custom in this city which I had never before heard of in any part of the world. I observed as I was going to church six men walking two and two towards the church with very large white sashes which appeared to be made of fine Holland the whole width and two or three yards in length. They were placed over their right shoulders and tied under their left arms in

a very large bow, with several yards of white ribbon on the top of their shoulders; a large rose formed of white ribbon, was placed on the sash. As I came up to the yard of the church Dr. Rogers and Dr. Ewing were just before me going into the church, both in their black gowns, but Dr. Rogers with a large white sash, like those of the six men, only that the bow and rose of ribbons were black. These sashes I was informed were given the last week at a funeral. They are worn by the minister and bearers to the grave and are always worn by them the next Sunday, and the bearers always walk to and from the church together. To give these sashes, is a general custom at the funeral of persons of any note."

On the day following Dr. Cutler dined with Dr. Rogers, in company with Dr. Witherspoon, Dr. Ewing, Dr. McCourtland, of Newark, Mr. Wilson, colleague with Dr. Rogers, and two clergymen from the southward, whose names he did not recollect. "It seemed," he said, "like a ministers' meeting. They appeared to be much of gentlemen and I must do them the justice to say I was treated with particular marks of attention, notwithstanding my being a New England man." Dr. Witherspoon, he records elsewhere, "is an intolerably homely old Scotchman, and speaks the true dialect of his country except that his brogue borders on the Irish. He is a bad speaker, has no oratory, and had no notes before him. His subject was 'Hypocrisy.' But notwithstanding the dryness of the subject, the badness of his delivery, which required the closest attention to understand him, yet the correctness of his style, the arrangement of his matter, and the many new ideas he suggested, rendered his sermon very entertaining."

But it was with Congress, the old Congress, the Congress of the Confederation, that Dr. Cutler had to do, and he minutely describes the chamber in which it met. It was in the building on Wall Street opposite Broad, where Washington was afterwards inaugurated, the site of which is now occupied by the Sub-Treasury of the United States, a spot towards which the eyes of the country will be

turned next April with the same interest that they were directed last September to our venerable Independence Hall.

Dr. Cutler describes the edifice as "a magnificent pile of buildings," and measuring it by a home standard, thought it nearly twice the width of the State House in Boston, but not so long. The Congress chamber was at the east end of the second story. "On the southern side the floor is raised several feet which is ascended by steps and is inclosed with a banister. In the center is a large chair, raised still higher, lined with red damask silk and over it a curious canopy fringed with silk, and two large, flowing damask curtains descending from the sides of the canopy to the floor, partly furled with silken cords. This is the seat of the President of Congress, and the appearance at the opposite side of the chamber is superb. On the floor of the chamber at the right and left from the President's chair are two rows of chairs, extended to the opposite side of the room, with a small bureau table placed before each chair; the chairs and tables are mahogany, richly carved, the arms and bottom covered with red morocco leather. On each side of the President's chair within the banisters, are chairs and tables similar to those of the members, for the use of the Secretary and his clerks. In the midst of the floor is a vacant space in the form of a broad aisle. The curtains of the windows are red damask, richly ornamented with fringe. At the east end is a portrait of General Washington, at full length well executed. At the opposite end are the portraits of some of the general officers who fell in the late war. On the side opposite the President's seat are the portraits of the King and Queen of France, as large as life. They were drawn by the King's own portrait painter, and presented by his Majesty to Congress. The drapery infinitely exceeds anything of the kind I ever saw before. They are dressed in their robes and life and animation is imitated to perfection. When the damask curtains which covered them were drawn, their eyes were fixed upon us with a vivacity that bespoke life itself,

and their majestic countenances seemed to chastise our insolence in approaching them with so little reverence."

On the morning of July 11 Dr. Cutler left New York for Philadelphia. He arrived that night at Princeton, fifty-two miles from New York, and at five o'clock the next morning called on Colonel George Morgan, who enjoyed the reputation of being the first farmer in America. He hardly expected to find him up, but want of time obliged him to call at that unseemly hour. The Colonel, however, was in his parlor, engaged with his books, and received him politely. He showed him his fine farm garden and apiary, in which were sixty-four swarms of bees in a line fifteen rods long. He also visited the college, and rambled through the building with the Rev. Samuel Stanhope Smith, Vice-President of the college, examined the library and philosophical apparatus, and climbed up to the cupola to view the battle-field. From there he proceeded to Trenton, and shortly after, having crossed into Pennsylvania, met General John Armstrong and Colonel Franks. Both of them, he writes, were "high Bucks and affected as I conceived to hold the New England States in contempt. They had repeatedly touched my Yankee blood in their conversation at table but I was much on the reserve until after we had dined," when some reflections on the conduct of Rhode Island and the insurgency in Massachusetts brought on a war of words, in which "the cudgels were taken up on both sides; the contest as fierce as if the fate of empires depended upon the decision." But Cutler and a fellow-traveller who took his side parted with their antagonists on terms of perfect good humor, and he writes, "We had the satisfaction to quit the field with an air of triumph."

As he approached Philadelphia "the numerous shocks of grain in the field demonstrated the richness of the soil. . . . At almost every house the farmers and their wives were sitting in their cool enteries, or under the piazzas and shady trees about their doors. I observed," he writes, "the men generally wore fine Holland shirts with the sleeves plaited, the women in clean, cool, white dresses, enjoying the ease

and pleasure of domestic life, with few cares, less labor, and abounding plenty."

Arriving in Philadelphia he put up at the Indian Queen, which he describes as follows:

It "is situated in Third Street, between Market Street and Chestnut Street, and is not far from the center of the city. It is kept in an elegant style, and consists of a large pile of buildings, with many spacious halls and numerous small appartments appropriated for lodging rooms. As soon as I had inquired of the bar-keeper, . . . if I could be furnished with lodgings a livery servant was ordered immediately to attend me, who received my baggage from the hostler and conducted me to the appartments assigned by the bar keeper which was a rather small but a very handsome chamber (No 9) furnished with a rich field bed, bureau, table with drawers, a large looking glass, neat chairs, and other furniture. Its front was east and being in the third story afforded a fine prospect towards the river and the Jersey shore.

"The servant that attended me was a young, sprightly, well built black fellow, neatly dressed—blue coat, sleeves and cape red, and buff waistcoat and breeches, the bosom of his shirt ruffled, and hair powdered. After he had brought up my baggage and properly deposited it in the chamber, he brought two of the latest London magazines and laid on the table. I ordered him to call a barber, furnish me with a bowl of water for washing and to have tea on the table by the time I was dressed."

After having refreshed himself, Dr. Cutler learned that a number of members of the Federal Convention were stopping at the same house, and as two of them were from Massachusetts, he sent word to one of them, Caleb Strong, that he would like to speak to him. They had never met, but he explains we "had a hearsay knowledge of each other," and the result was he was in a short time hobnobbing with Nathaniel Gorham, of Massachusetts, James Madison, Jr., subsequently President of the United States, and George Mason, of Virginia, Governor Alexander Martin and Dr.

Hugh Williamson, of North Carolina, John Rutledge, afterwards appointed Chief-Justice of the United States, and Charles Pinckney, of South Carolina, and Alexander Hamilton, of New York. A notable company, in whose presence, he modestly notes, the evening passed very agreeably. But after the others had gone, Strong and Gorham urged Cutler to remain, "that they might inquire with more freedom and more minutely into state affairs in Massachusetts." At half-past one they separated, Mr. Strong promising to take Dr Cutler early the next morning to call on Elbridge Gerry, one of the other delegates from Massachusetts.

As his room faced the east, and it was the middle of July, it is not surprising that Dr. Cutler arose early the next morning, notwithstanding a ride of forty-three miles and the late hours of the previous day. But he found Mr. Strong up as early as he was, and they walked to Mr. Gerry's on Spruce Street, where they breakfasted. Mr. Gerry had good reasons for not submitting himself to the inconveniences of a public-house. "Few old bachelors," writes Dr. Cutler, "have been more fortunate in matrimony than Mr. Gerry. His lady is young very handsome and exceedingly amiable, . . . I should not suppose her to be more than seventeen and believe he must have turned Fifty-five." But the good doctor was either a bad judge of ages or the beauty of Mrs. Gerry must have had an unfortunate effect on her husband's appearance. He really was but forty-three, while she was in her twenty-fourth year. "They have been married," says Dr. Cutler, "about eighteen months and have a fine son about two months old of which they appear to be extravagantly fond." A younger child of this happy union survives to-day, and a short time ago showed one of our citizens a miniature of her mother, painted at the time of her marriage, that fully bears out the judgment of Dr. Cutler regarding her beauty.

"I was surprised," continues Dr. Cutler, "to find how early ladies in Philadelphia can rise in the morning, and to see them at breakfast at half after five when in Boston they can hardly see a breakfast table at nine without falling

into hysterics." Mrs. Gerry said "she was inured to it from childhood in New York and that it was the practice of the best families in Philadelphia."

From Mr. Gerry's they went to Dr. John Morgan's, in Pine Street, and from there to Dr. Gerardus Clarkson's, who resided in the same street. "Dr. Clarkson," writes Dr. Cutler, "is one of those fine accomplished benevolent characters which inspire the most exalted ideas of human nature. I found him fully to answer the character I had received of him. My letters to him were from his much esteemed friend Dr. Belknap and his brother-in-law Mr. Hazard. . . . When he found my stay in the city must be very short he dismissed all of his business and sent his servant to inform his patients that it was not probable he would be able to see them on that day or the next. . . . I was formally introduced to his son who had just before received Episcopal Ordination from Dr. White, the Bishop of the State. . . . After engaging me to dine with him the Doctor ordered his Phaeton to be harnessed that we might take a general view of the city, &c. We rode out of the city on the western side toward the Schuylkill and passed by the Hospital and Bettering-house. We continued our route in view of the Schuylkill, and up the river several miles, and took a view of a number of Country seats, one belonging to Mr. Robert Morris the American financeer who is said to possess the greatest fortune in America. His country seat [now known as Lemon Hill] is not yet completed but it will be superb. It is planned on a large scale, the gardens and walks are extensive and the villa situated on an eminence has a commanding prospect down the Schuylkill to the Delaware."

After returning to Dr. Clarkson's they called on Dr. Rush, and having dined, visited Peale's celebrated collection of paintings and natural curiosities. "We were conducted," writes the doctor, "into a room by a boy who told us that Mr. Peale would wait on us in a minute or two. He desired us however to walk into the room where the curiosities were, and showed us a long narrow entry which led into

the room. I observed through a glass window on my right hand a gentleman close to me standing with a pencil in one hand and a small sheet of ivory in the other, and his eyes directed to the opposite side of the room, as though he was taking some object on his ivory sheet. Dr. Clarkson did not see this man until he stepped into the room, but instantly turned about and came back, saying 'Mr. Peale is very busy taking the picture of something with his pencil. We will step back into the other room and wait until he is at leisure.' We returned through the entry, but as we entered the room we came from, we met Mr. Peale coming to us. The Doctor started back in astonishment and cried out 'Mr. Peale, how is it possible you should get out of the other room to meet us here' Mr. Peale smiled 'I have not been in the other room' says he, 'for some time,' 'No!' says Clarkson, 'did I not see you there this moment with your pencil and ivory.' 'Why do you think you did?' says Peale. 'Do I think I did? Yes' says the Doctor 'I saw you there if I ever saw you in your life' 'Well' says Peale 'let us go and see' When we returned we found the man standing as before. My astonishment was now equal to that of Dr. Clarkson's; for although I knew what I saw, yet I beheld two men so perfectly alike that I could not discern the minutest difference. One of them indeed had no motion, but he appeared to me to be as absolutely alive as the other, and I could not help wondering that he did not smile or take a part in the conversation. This was a piece of wax work which Mr. Peale had just finished, in which he had taken himself. So admirable a performance must have done great honor to his *genius* if it had been that of any other person, but I think it much more extraordinary that he should be able so perfectly to take himself. To what perfection is this art capable of being carried!"

"The walls of this room are covered with paintings both portrait and historic. One particular part is assigned to the portraits of the principal American characters who appeared on the stage during the late revolution either in

the councils or armies of their country. The drapery was excellent and the likenesses of all of whom I had any personal knowledge well taken. I fancied myself introduced to all the general officers that had been in the field during war, whether dead or alive, for I think he had every one, most of the members of Congress and other distinguished characters. . . . At the upper end of the room General Washington at full length and nearly as large as the life was placed as President of this sage and martial assembly."

"At the opposite end under a small gallery, his natural curiosities were arranged in a most romantic and amusing manner. There was a mound of earth, considerably raised and covered with green turf, from which a number of trees ascended and branched out in different directions. On the declivity of this mound was a small thicket, and just below it an artificial pond; on the other side a number of large and small rocks of different kinds, collected from different parts of the world and represented the rude state in which they are generally found. At the foot of the mound were holes dug, and the earth thrown up to show the different kinds of clay, ochre coal, marl, &c &c which he had collected from different parts; also various ores and minerals. Around the pond was a beach on which was exhibited an assortment of shells of different kinds, turtles, frogs, toads, lizards, water-snakes, &c &c. In the pond was a collection of fish with their skins stuffed, waterfowls &c. . . . All having the appearance of life. On the ground were those birds which commonly walk on the ground as the partridge and quail, heath hen, &c also different kinds of wild animals—bear, deer, leopard and wild cat. . . . In the thicket and among the rocks, land snakes, rattle-snakes of an enormous size, black, glass, striped and a number of other snakes. The boughs of the trees were loaded with birds some of almost every species in America and many exotics. In short it is not in my power to give any particular account of the numerous species of fossils and animals but only their general arrangement. . . . Mr. Peale's animals reminded me of *Noah's Ark* into which was re-

ceived every kind of beast and creeping thing in which there was life. But I hardly conceived that even Noah could have boasted of a better collection."

From the Museum they went to the State House. "This," writes Dr. Cutler, "is a noble building, the architecture is in a richer and grander style than any public building I have ever before seen. The first story is not an open walk, as is usual in buildings of this kind. In the middle however, is a very broad cross-aisle, and the floor above supported by two rows of pillars. From this aisle is a broad opening to a large hall toward the west end which opening is supported by arches and pillars. In this Hall the courts are held and as you pass the aisle you have a full view of the court. The supreme court was now sitting. This bench consists of only three judges their robes are scarlet; the lawyers black.

"The Chief Judge Mr. McKean was sitting with his hat on, which is the custom but struck me as being very odd, and seemed to derogate from the dignity of a judge. The hall east of the aisle is employed for public business. The chamber over it is now occupied by the continental convention, which is now sitting, but sentries are planted without and within to prevent any person from approaching near—who appear to be very alert in the performance of their duty."

The State House yard had then been laid out but three years. The trees were small, but the walks were well gravelled and rolled hard. "The painful sameness commonly to be met with in garden-alleys and other works of this kind," writes Dr. Cutler, "is happily avoided here for there are no parts of the mall that are alike. Hogarth's 'line of beauty' is completely verified. The public are indebted to the fertile fancy and taste of Mr. Samuel Vaughn for the elegance of the plan. . . . The mall is at present nearly surrounded with buildings," he continues, "which stand near to the board fence that incloses it and the parts now vacant will in a short time be filled up. On one part the Philosophical Society are erecting a large building

for holding their meetings and depositing their Library and Cabinet. This building is begun and on another part a County Court house is now going up. But after all the beauty and elegance of this public walk, there is one circumstance that must forever be disgusting and must greatly diminish the pleasure and amusement which these walks would otherwise afford. At the foot of the mall and opposite to the Court House is the Prison fronting directly on the mall. It is very long and high. I believe four stories and is built of stone. The building itself, which is elegant, would appear well were it not for its unsavory contents. Your ears are constantly insulted with their Billingsgate language, or your feelings wounded with their pitiful complaints. Their long reed poles with a little cap of cloth at the end are constantly extended over into the Mall in order to receive your charity which they are incessantly begging. And if you refuse them they load you with the most foul and horrid imprecations. In short, whatever part of the mall you are in, this cage of unclean birds is constantly in your view and their doleful cries attack your ears."

The University was the next place visited. The building then used was the ancient one on Fourth Street below Arch. It had been erected when Whitefield preached in Philadelphia. Dr. Cutler says, "It makes no appearance and the accommodations are very indifferent. The Hall is the most elegant part; it is pretty large handsomely ornamented and the inside work consists of considerable carving in the old fashioned style." The Provost, Dr. Ewing, whom he had met in New York, was still absent from the city, having gone with Rittenhouse and Hutchings to settle the boundary between New York and Massachusetts.

From the University they went through the streets where the meeting-houses and churches were situated, gazed at them, and dropped in on Bishop White and Dr. Sproat. Finally they brought up at John Vaughn's, who accompanied them to Mr. Gerry's, where they found a company of ladies calling upon that gentleman's wife. From his ease in conversation and politeness in manner, Dr. Cutler supposed

they were old acquaintances of Mr. Vaughn, and was completely astonished when he subsequently asked him, as they were on their way to Dr. Franklin's, if he could tell him their names; they were from New York; he had never met them before, and it had slipped his memory. "What advantages," recorded Dr. Cutler, "are derived from a finished education and the best of company."

"Dr. Franklin," writes the visitor, "lives in Market Street between second and third streets but his house stands up a courtyard at some distance from the street. We found him in his garden sitting upon a grass plat under a very large Mulberry with several other gentlemen and two or three ladies. There was no curiosity in Philadelphia which I felt so anxious to see as this great man who has been the wonder of Europe as well as the glory of America." Dr. Cutler expected to find Dr. Franklin difficult of access, with an "air of grandeur and majesty about him;" one who "common folks must expect only to gaze at" from a distance "and answer only such questions as he might be pleased to ask." How were his ideas changed when he was introduced to "a short fat trunched old man, in a plain Quaker dress bald pate, and short white locks sitting without his hat under the tree," and, as Mr. Gerry introduced him, rose from his chair, took him by the hand, and welcomed him to the city. "The tea table," writes Dr. Cutler, "was spread under the tree and Mrs. Bache a very gross and rather homely lady, who is the only daughter of the Doctor and lives with him, served it out to the company. She had three of her children about her over whom she seemed to have no kind of command, but who appeared to be excessively fond of their Grandpapa." Franklin showed Dr. Cutler a curiosity he had just received, a snake with two heads, and suggested what a distressing condition it would have been in if it had met with an obstruction in its path and one head had insisted on taking the right side, the other the left. He was just about to draw a comparison between the snake thus circumstanced and something that occurred in the convention, when he was reminded that convention mat-

ters were secret, and so the story was lost to history. Dr. Cutler was also shown his library,—said to have been the largest private one in America,—his machine for illustrating the circulation of blood in the body, his letter-press for copying letters, his artificial arm and hand for taking down and putting up books on high shelves, his rocking-chair with the fan over it, to keep him cool and drive away the flies, that he could work with a slight motion of the foot while reading, and other curious inventions. But what interested Dr. Cutler still more was a copy of Linnæus's "Systema Vegetabilia," illustrated with large cuts, colored from nature. The volume was so large that Dr. Franklin could hardly lift it from a low shelf and place it on the table. "With that senile ambition common to old people he insisted on doing it himself," writes Dr. Cutler, "merely to show us how much strength he had remaining." While the other gentlemen talked politics, Franklin and Cutler turned over the volume,—the former, who was no botanist, enjoying Cutler's delight, but as the latter could have spent three months over the book, at ten o'clock he took his leave.

From the doctor's he returned to the Indian Queen, where he found a number of his friends about sitting down to a sumptuous table. He was invited to join them, and did so; and although he had been on the go from five o'clock in the morning, did not retire until midnight, having then made an appointment to meet a number of his companions at five o'clock the next day to visit Bartram's gardens and other points of interest. The next day was Saturday, and before it was light this live Yankee was out of his bed to see Philadelphia's celebrated markets in all the glory of their summer wealth. Although it was so dark he could not distinctly see a man a few rods distant, he found nearly a hundred people in the market and crowds coming from every street. He describes the market-houses as extending for nearly half a mile, situated in the middle of the street, and "as neat and clean as a dinning Hall." "By the time it was fair daylight the marketers seemed to be all in and everything arranged. The crowds of purchasers filled every

avenue so that it was almost impossible to pass. The stalls were furnished with excellent meat and there was every kind of vegetable and fruit which the season afforded. The crowds of people seemed like the collection at the last day for there was every rank and condition in life from the highest to the lowest, male and female, of every age and color." "Several of the market-women, who sold fruit," said Dr. Cutler, "had their infants in their arms and their children about them, and there seemed to be some of every nation under heaven. The ladies indeed are the principal purchasers but are in a dress not easily to be known by their most intimate acquaintance and are always attended by a servant with his basket. What would the delicate Boston ladies think if they were to be abroad at this hour? There is I presume as much real delicacy in Philadelphia as Boston. . . . This scene was so novel that I could not deny myself the pleasure of attending to it for a little time. I made myself very busy in traversing from one end of the market to the other viewing every thing that was going on and gazing at the numerous strange faces which appeared wherever I turned my eyes. At length I found myself obliged to give up this pleasure for another."

The company that visited Bartram at his gardens, west of the Schuylkill, below Gray's Ferry, consisted of Dr. Cutler, Mr. Strong, Governor Martin, George Mason and son, Dr. Williamson, Mr. Madison, Mr. Rutledge, Alexander Hamilton, Mr. Vaughn, Dr. Clarkson and his son. This early party evidently took the botanist by surprise, for they found him "in a short jacket and trousers and without shoes or stockings," hoeing his garden. He was, no doubt, blessing Dr. Clarkson, the only one he was acquainted with, for having brought such a company down upon him at such an unseasonable hour, when he was introduced to Dr. Cutler, who, he was told, wished to converse with him on botanical subjects, while the other gentlemen only desired the pleasure of walking through the gardens. All embarrassment soon vanished, and the two botanists were before long deep in their favorite science. Dr. Cutler de-

scribes very minutely the gardens of Bartram and those at Gray's Ferry, where the company breakfasted. But as the doctor saw almost as much on the second day of his visit as he did on the first, we are obliged to refer the reader, for this part of his visit, to the volumes in which his journal is printed. Suffice it to say that Gray's garden, which our ancestors delighted to visit in the fine weather to drink tea and escape the heat of the city, called forth from our New England visitor expressions of the greatest admiration. Its grottos and water-falls, Chinese bridges and pagodas, hermitage and shaded walks, are in sad contrast with the railroad tracks and oil-tanks that meet the eye from the same spot to-day, and make one regret that the march of improvements demand such sacrifices or that park commissioners were not of earlier origin.

Returning to Philadelphia, the members of the convention repaired to the State House, and Dr. Cutler was conducted to the Hospital, where he was met by Dr. Rush, and was shown through the building. By this time Dr. Rush's students had arrived, and the sick wards were visited; everything was in the most perfect order, and although the department for the insane did not fail to excite feelings of distress, Dr. Cutler could not help recording that the place "seemed more like a palace than a hospital and one would almost be tempted to be sick if he could be so well provided for." The Bettering House at Eleventh and Spruce Streets was then visited, and then Dr. Cutler, Dr. Clarkson, and son dined with Dr. Rush.

Soon after dinner the bell of a church rang to inform the citizens who subscribed to the Library that it was then open for the purpose of receiving and delivering books. At that time it occupied the second story of Carpenters' Hall, and to that place Dr. Cutler and his friends repaired, where he examined the books and a number of other interesting objects then deposited there.

At half-past six he left the city to return to New York, and after noting this, gives a few additional facts regarding his visit. "Philadelphia," he says, "is the capital city of

America. It is large elegant and populous, . . . with a good harbor in which there is a great number of large ships besides numerous smaller vessels. It contains 10,000 thousand[1] inhabitants and covers twice the quantity of ground to that of Boston. The State House, Hospital and most of the public buildings are magnificent, but it is singular that there are only two steeples in the city where there are upwards of twenty houses for public worship. There is an academy belonging to the members of the Episcopal Church and an Infirmary which is said to be of more utility to the city than the Hospital. . . . Whatever may be said of the private benevolence of the Philadelphians, there is certainly a greater display of public charity here than in any other part of America. The streets of this city are at right angles. The buildings on a straight line. They are well paved and at a distance of ten feet from the house is a row of posts and in this range of posts are all their pumps. It is well furnished with lamps, the pavements between the posts and houses are laid with freestone or large tile, and entirely smooth, which makes the walking on them delightful. They are kept perfectly clean being washed every day and here all of the foot passengers pass. While I was walking with Mr. Strong I happened to step without the posts, and walk a few steps in the street. He desired me to come within the posts, for he said they would certainly call me a *New England man* if I walked there."

[In the foregoing pages we have endeavored to give the spirit of the impression made upon Dr. Cutler by his visit to New York and Philadelphia. But we have by no means exhausted the interest of the volumes even in this particular. Space has obliged us to omit considerable relating to the two cities. Nor are other portions of the book less interesting. Some, indeed, are of greatly more importance in the field of history than what we have given. His account of the Ohio Purchase is of the highest value, and the publication of it, coming as it does immediately previous to the Centennial Anniversary of the arrival of the first settlers at Marietta, will necessarily attract a number of readers. Too much praise cannot be accorded to Dr. Cutler for the energy and tact

[1] This is clearly a mistake. By the census taken three years afterwards, Philadelphia and suburbs contained 42,520 inhabitants.

he showed in the cause of the Company in transacting their business with Congress and in pushing forward the settlement. We do not agree with the editors of the volumes in the influence accorded to him in forming the ordinance of 1787. But of this we will speak on another occasion.

As our readers will observe, Dr. Cutler was a keen observer, and in his several journeys gives us many interesting facts regarding the country through which he passed and the experiences of a traveller at that day. A good tavern where well-cooked meals and clean, comfortable rooms could be had was noted with an interest that showed how highly it was appreciated, and as those of the opposite character are also spoken of, it is probable that the memorandums were made for the future guidance of the traveller. In 1801 Dr. Cutler was elected to Congress, and served until 1805, and his observations on the men and manners of the times are intensely interesting. Among Dr. Cutler's correspondents were Dr. Ezra Stiles, Dr. Jeremy Belknap, General Benjamin Lincoln, Dr. Benjamin Smith Barton, Jedediah Morse, Dr. Henry Muhlenberg, C. S. Rafenesque, Timothy Pickering, Ebenezer Hazard, and others. The two volumes contain the most readable historical matter that has been published for some time.—F. D. S.]

CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN WILLIAM STRAHAN AND DAVID HALL, 1763–1777.

(Continued from Vol. XI. page 490.)

LONDON June 15, 1771.

DEAR DAVIE

I wrote you the 8th and 14th of last Month by Captain Williams. . . .

It is an agreeable Circumstance, that your two Sons are so far advanced in Life, that the eldest is already fit to assist you, and the other nearly so. There will be room enough in your own Business for them both; and nothing is easier for a young Man than to pursue the Path, which his Father hath chalked out, and successfully trod before him. I am very happy in the Prospect we have that our Descendants will be connected, when we ourselves are gone to rest. The State of my Family and Business is briefly this. My eldest Son William is now, you know, settled by himself, and will, I dare say, do very well; tho' the Printing Trade is by no means a very profitable one. It requires great Industry, Oeconomy, Perseverance, and Address, to make any great Figure in it. However he is very clever, has already a good Share of Business, and will, in time succeed to some of the more profitable Branches of it, as his Seniors drop off.—My second Son George is now in Orders, and will, I am convinced, make a good Figure in that Walk of Life.—My youngest Andrew is the only one now with me, and from whom I receive any Assistance in Business: But his Time is almost totally taken up in the Printing-house, in looking after 7, 8, or 9 Presses, which are constantly employed there: For besides the Chronicle and Monthly Review, I have always a pretty large Share of Book-work, in many Articles of which I am myself a Proprietor.—I have also one half of the Law Printing-house,

which is kept, separately, at some Distance from my own House; and as my partner in that, Mr. Woodfall, died about two Years ago, the whole Care of it lies upon me.—As doth the Management of the Kings Printing-house, My Partner Mr. Eyre not being bred to the Business, and being in the Country.—It is true, we have distinct Overseers for both these Branches, to take Care of the Conduct of the Business within Doors. But still the general Management, and the Accounts, of all these Branches, falls to my Share, in which I cannot easily receive much Assistance from any body. Add to all this, the Multiplicity of Concerns I have in the Property of Books, (above 200 in Number) which require, every one of them, some Attention, and a separate and distinct Account, and a Variety of Avocations which cannot be particularly enumerated, the Correspondencies I am unavoidably drawn into, and engaged in, and the Share and Attention I am often obliged to take and bestow in the Concerns of others;—I say when you consider all these Particulars, you may naturally conclude that my Time is pretty fully engrossed. Indeed it is so much so, that I am casting about how to relieve myself from a Part, at least, of the Labour I have now long sustained; but have not yet been able to fix upon a proper Plan. Sometimes I think of selling all my property in Copies, and confining my whole Attention to printing. But against this there are great Objections, besides that the State of the Trade here is such, that they are hardly able, after so many large Stocks that have been lately brought to Market, to purchase mine, and of course, the present is a very bad time to bring it to Sale,—I must wait a more favorable Season. It is easy to manage one Branch of Business; but nobody in my Way ever before extended it so far as I have done. My Reason was this: I quickly saw, that if I confined myself to mere *printing for Booksellers* I might be able to live, but very little more than live; I therefore soon determined to launch out into other Branches in Connection, with my own, in which I have happily succeeded, to the Astonishment of the rest of the Trade here, who never dreamt of going out of the old

beaten Track. Thus I have made the Name of *Printer* more respectable than ever it was before, and taught them to emancipate themselves from the Slavery in which the Booksellers held them.—But enough of this. From what I have already said, you may easily conclude, that my Time is pretty well filled up, at a Period of Life too when ones Industry generally begins to flag. . . .

With regard to Politicks, I have nothing either new or particular, but what you will find in the Papers. You see Wilkes is chosen one of our Sheriffs, as I imagined he would; tho' he really owed his Election to the Courts Interposing, (which is always unpopular with the Livery) and to the Misdelivery of a Letter from one of the Secretaries of the Treasury. But all this signifies nothing. The Spirit of Faction must gradually subside for want of Fuel; for in reality we have no Grievances worth naming to complain of; tho' the most unwearied Pains hath been taken to foment the popular Frenzy, and to make us believe we are in a dangerous Situation from the Weakness and Wickedness of the Ministry. To this End our Newspapers have not a little contributed; which are daily filled with the grossest Falsities, copied from one another all over the King's Dominions. I have now before me your Paper No. 2214. for May 30. in the second Page of which there is hardly a Paragraph that is not diametrically opposite to Truth. From that and such like Papers, one at a Distance who had no other Means of Information must naturally conclude that we are here in a State of the utmost Distraction, and just at the Eve of some grand Convulsion. Whereas the real Truth is, we are in perfect Peace and Tranquillity, nor any Complaint heard, unless of the present Dearness of Provisions, which nobody lays to the Account of the King or his Ministry. Last Wednesday, the Lord Mayor, after advertising for a forthnight to invite the whole Livery to attend him, presented another Remonstrance; conceived in the most impudent and unwarrantable Terms. You will doubtless see in the Papers a splendid Account of the Calvacade. But whatever they may tell you, I can assure you

from ocular Demonistration, that it made a most pitiful and paultry Figure. A Number of People were brought to the Streets to gaze at him and the few Aldermen that accompanied him; but only ten or a Dozen Blackguards followed or hollowed him, which feeble Applause was much more than over balanced by the Hisses of the Honest and well meaning Spectators, whose Indignation was justly raised at seeing the best of Prince's teazed and abused by a little, pitiful, desperate and inconsiderable Junto whom as Individuals no reputable Man would choose to associate with. I am sorry I am obliged to speak of these Gentlemen with so much seeming Asperity; but my Warmth proceeds from a thorough Knowlege of their Malevolence and Futility. At present I shall dismiss the Subject, and leave it to Time to tell you whether I am right or not in what I now say.

The Ministry, agreeable to what I have formerly told you, is, I think, upon a firm Foundation; which I own I am pleased with for three Reasons. 1. Because farther Changes, after the Multitude we have already had in this Reign, must be fatal to the Peace and Authority of our amiable Sovereign, by not only weakening and distressing his Government at home, but rendering the Nation contemptible in the Eyes of Foreign Courts. 2. Because I really know not how their Places could be better supplied, the whole Opposition not affording many Names worthy of Consideration and Trust. 3. Because I know the Men now in Power mean well, and are many of them possessed of real Honour and Capacity. The only Fault that I think can justly be laid to their Charge, is Pucillanimity, which, if carried much farther, will become altogether inexcusable. They have already suffered, with by far too much Patience, the most sacred Names to be traduced, and all legal Government trampled upon by the London Rabble. I own I am unable to account for this long-continued Timidity, and am not altogether without Apprehensions for the Consequences. If the same Temper is retained by the People above and below, the one unreasonably fearful, the other unwarrantably insolent, we shall have fine Work at the next General Election.

But I hope Things will take a more favourable Turn for the national Happiness and Honour before that Period.

All my Family are in their ordinary, and join in affectionate Respects to Mrs. Hall and you. I am ever

Dear Davie

Most cordially yours

WILL STRAHAN.

LONDON Novr. 9, 1771.

DEAR DAVIE.

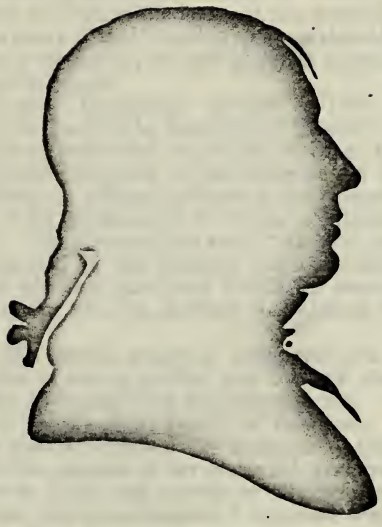
. . . In my Letter of July 15th I gave you a Detail of our then present Situation. Since that time, Things have exactly gone on in the Train I imagined they were in. The Spirit of Faction is declined almost to nothing; the Patriots are quarreling with one another; the Livery, being left to themselves, have made Choice of Mr. Nash for Mayor; a moderate worthy Man, of independent Fortune and fair, Character. This throws a great Damp upon the Operations of Wilkes and his Adherents, who are now melting away very fast. At the other End of the Town, the Ministry continue firm and united, as I formerly told you. No Changes of any Sort, as far as I have been able to discover, are so much thought of; the Parliament will not meet till the 14th or 21st of January; nor do they expect any other than the usual Routine of Business to come before them during the ensuing Session. France and Spain, I know, are not in a Situation, and are therefore not at all inclined, to break with us. In short, every Thing portends lasting Peace at home and abroad, unless the King of Prussia should draw his Sword, and instead of acting the part of a Mediator, endeavor to avail himself of the present Disturbances of that unhappy Country Poland, and the War still subsisting between the Turks and the Russians. By a Letter which I received from Berlin a few Days ago, I find he is making vast Preparations for War; and tho' it cannot yet be discovered when or where he will begin his Operations, it is conjectured, with great Probability, that he has his Eye upon Polish Prussia, and the City of Dantzick; An Acquisition of the greatest Consequence to him, and which, besides

the Advantage of being Master of the Trade of that Place, would throw a vast Addition of Power and Strength into his Hands, of course endanger the Safety of his Neighbours, and alarm all the Maritime Powers of Europe. But unless his Conduct obliges other States to take part in the War, which may at length make it necessary for us to join one Side or another, I see nothing to disturb us for a great while to come. In the Chronicle of this Day sevenight (the 2d Instant) you will see my Opinion of our present Situation, as coming from an *old Correspondent.*—But whilst every thing seems to favour the Peace and Happiness of the Public, the Royal Family have been and still are in great Distress.—The Princess Dowager is in a Declining State of Health, and has been very ill of late.—The Duke of Gloucester, who bears a very amiable Character among us, had been at the Point of Death at Leghorn, but an Express arrived two days ago, that he was judged now to be out of Danger. Till that Account was received, his Mother and Lady Walgrave (who has certainly long been his Wife, and who will probably soon be acknowledged as such) were inconsoleable.—Add to these, the Duke of Cumberland, a thoughtless, giddy and inconsistant Creature, is universally believed to have a few Weeks ago married a Widow Horton, Sister to Colonel Lutterell, a lively gay Woman, much older than himself, with whom he has retired for the Present to Calais. If this is really the Case, it is an Event that, in the mean time, reflects great Dishonour on the Duke, and may, in future, be attended with very disagreeable Consequences.—Nothing farther occurs to me just now with respect to Politics. The Licentiousness of the public Papers are unworthy Notice. Even *Junius* is losing Ground every Day, and advances as bold and striking Truths, Things which have hardly the smallest Foundation; and *Wilkes*, (perhaps the best Manufacturer of Paragraphs that ever lived, by which he has been long enabled in opposition to Common Sense, to buoy up his sinking Popularity,) begins evidently to be exhausted, and is gradually sinking into Contempt and Oblivion, which all his feeble Efforts will not be able long to prevent.

Dr. Franklin hath been for some Time on a Tour to Ireland, where I hear he was five Days entertained by Lord Hillsborough at his Lordship's House at Hillsborough, with great Hospitality.—He is now at Edinburgh, at the House of Mr. Hume, the Historian, where he purposes to stay a Week or two, and then return to London. I had a Letter from him thence the other Day. He is in good Health. His Son in law, I find, has been here, and is now in the Country seeing his Friends there, but I have not yet seen him. . . .

Meanwhile I remain, with wonted Esteem,
Dear Davie
Most cordially and affectionately
Yrs. Will: Strahan.

(To be concluded.)



DAVID RITTENHOUSE.

(From the original in the possession of CHARLES W. HASSLER.)

NOTES AND QUERIES.

Notes.

RITTENHOUSE MONUMENT.—In view of the fact that a movement is reported now to be on foot to erect a monument to David Rittenhouse in the square in your city that bears his name, it has seemed to me that it might be of interest to many that all obtainable facts should be brought together in regard to the personal aspect and physical appearance of the man whom it is designed to honor.

In my copy of Dr. Rush's "Eulogium," printed in 1796, there is no portrait, nor is there any in the Life by Renwick in Sparks's "Biographical Series." In the Memoir published in 1813 by William Barton, a descendant from one of the six daughters of the father of our philosopher, there is an engraving "from an original picture in the possession of Mrs. Sargent," and on page 10 Mr. Barton says it is from a painting by C. W. Peale, executed in 1772. Mr. Barton then says, "At that time he wore a wig, and was so represented in the picture; but afterwards, when he resumed the wearing of his own hair, and which he continued to do during the remainder of his life, the portrait was altered accordingly by Mr. Peale."

In a note on page 10 Mr. Barton speaks of other portraits, but I have nowhere seen any mention of one in profile, and I think that the only one giving a profile is the silhouette now belonging to me.

On page 94 Mr. Barton speaks of the family of Benjamin, the brother of David, and says that his first wife was the daughter of General John Bull. This couple were the parents of my maternal grandmother, who married Michel Nourse in 1800, and moved to Washington, D.C., in June of that year. From my grandmother I received a silhouette of her uncle David, upon which she had written his name, so that its authenticity is indisputable. I take the liberty of sending you an electrotype of a wood-cut of my original.

CHARLES W. HASSLER.

New York.

ZANE FAMILY.—Copies of memoranda relative to the Zane family, in possession of George Vaux, of Philadelphia.

These memoranda all bear the marks of being very ancient, but there is nothing to indicate when they were prepared. There are five in all, one of them being written on the back of the title-page of a New Testament, which has evidently been torn from a Bible. The printed date has unfortunately been lost from the lower part of the page.

Robert Zane came from Ireland to America in the year [date torn off] landed at Elsinburra near Selam in West Jersey and stayd there about 4 years, in which time he tuck a canew and went in sarch of a settlement & padled along the side of the river & up the creeks till at last he chose a place up Newton Creek in gloster County, which place is cald

Newton. here he settled having only one child whose name was Nethaniel and was about 2 years old when they landed.

afterwards he marred one of Hinry Willises Daughters by whom he had Sons & Daughters Namly Nathan, Robert, Ester, Elnathan & Rachel. Ester marred Joshua Delaplan & left 2 sons namly Joshua & Joseph in New York. Rachel marred Joshua Pine on long Island and after his Death marred Jonathan Peasley by him she had one daughter named Elizabeth.

And Nathan had 3 children Elizabeth Nathan & Nethaniel. Elizabeth married somewhere in Merland & I never knew her Nathan died before he marred a sober young man. Robert marred in the Jerseys and has many children Sons & Daughters

My grandfather afterwards marred

Robert Zane of Newtown came into America in ye year 1673 he was 3 times married—his last wife was Hinrey Willises Daughter by whom he had 5 children namely Robert Nathan Elnathan Hester & Rach[el]

Nethaniel Zane of Newtown in West Jersey was by his first wife: who she was and from whence thers no ac[count] he Died the last day of the 12th month 1728/29 aged 55 years and left 8 children namely Margrit, Abegall Josep, Hannah, Jonathan, Ebenezear, Isaac and William which were all liveing when the younges (namely W^m) was about 34 years old. Isaac was boarn ye 3 day of the 3 mo 1711 and married ye 15 of ye 11 mo 1734 Sarah Elfreth the daughter of Hinrey Elfreth and had 8 children by the time he was 40 years old Namely Hannah, Phebe (who died between 3 & 4 years old) Isaac (he also Died under 2 years old) John, Isaac, Danel (Died under 2 years old) Phebe (she Died under 2 years old) Danel the 5th son was boarn about the time of this was writ

After the Deth of the above s^d Nethanial Zane grace his widow who was a Daughter of William Rakestraw married David Price at Merian and she died the 6th Day of the 10th month 1741

The Time of births of the children of Isaac & Sarah Zane
1 Hannah was bornd ye 23d of ye 10th mo 1734/5
2 Phebe the 16th 2d m^o 1737 and died ye 26th 2nd m^o 1740
3 Isaac the 23 of the 10th mo 1738/9 & died ye 6th of ye 3d m^o 1740
4 John the 9 of the 12th m^o 1740/1
5 Isaac the 26 of ye 4 mo 1743

[The following is written on the back of the title-page of a New Testament as mentioned above. It is in a very dilapidated condition.]

1733 ye 3 mo Isa^c Zane his book

Isaac and Sarah Zanes Book

The birth and Nativaty of hannah Zane was the 23 of the 10th month in the year of our Lord 1734/5

The Birth of Phebe Zane was the 16 day of ye 2 month 1737 at ¼ before 2 of ye clok in ye morning

Birth or Nativaty of Isaac Zane was the [torn off] day of ye 10 month about 8 a clok ad night the year of our Lord 1738/9

Phebe Zane Died the 26th day of ye 2 mo 1740 3 yers & 10 days and her departure was nere half an hour after 6 o clok after noon

Isaac Zane died about half a houer after one o clock at knight betwe^n ye 5th & ye 6th day of ye 3 mo 1740 aged [torn off] year & 5 mo & 13 days

[Jo]hn Zane the son of Isa^c & Serah Zane was bornd about 2 a clock at night betwen the 8th & 9th of y^e [torn off] month 1740/1

The birth or nativity of Isaac Zane the 26th of the 4th month 1743

[The remaining paper, as follows, though containing early dates, was probably prepared later than the others.]

Magrett Zane Daughter of Nathaniel Zane and Grace his wife Was Born the 1 day of 9 month 1698
Abigall Born 17 day of 5 month July 1700
Joseph Born 1 day 6 month Augt 1702
Hannah Born 19 day Nor 1704
Jonathan Born 29 day Sept 1706
Ebeneazear Born 7 day Decem 1708
Isaac Born 3 day 3 month 1710
William Born 26 day 11 month 1712

Deborah Zane Daughter of Joseph Zane & Mary his Wife
Was Born 22 day of Augt 1729
Ester Born 27 day 12 Month 1730
Nathaniel Born 8 day 3 Month 1732
Elizabeth Born 9 day 7 Month 1735
Hannah Born 27 day 1 Month 1738
Rodah Born 8 day 3 Month 1740

Sir John Oldmixon.—Various inquiries have been made in the English *Notes and Queries* and elsewhere concerning the descendants of this gentleman. He was a noted London beau who used to flourish in Old Bond Street, and afterwards, in the early part of the present century, resided near Germantown, Pennsylvania. The following was taken down some years since from the recollections of the writer's grandmother, a daughter of Mr. William Page, a well-known English merchant of that day, resident in Philadelphia, who was on intimate terms with the Oldmixons. There were four sons and two daughters,—John was the eldest, William (married a widow), George, and Henry. The sons were said to have entered the British Navy. The daughters were Maria, who married an eminent homœopathic physician of Philadelphia, went to New Orleans, and died there; Ellen, who first married Allen Armstrong, of Philadelphia, afterwards —— McIlvaine, and left several children. She is buried in Christ Church yard. From another source I have heard that a family named Sharp, in Salem, New Jersey, were descended from this family of Oldmixon.

William John Potts.

Camden, New Jersey.

Plans and Drawings of Benjamin H. Latrobe.—Through the courtesy of Hon. John H. B. Latrobe, of Baltimore, there has been recently added to the Collection of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania the following plans and drawings of his father, the eminent architect, the late Benjamin H. Latrobe:

Drawings of the original Water-works of Philadelphia, 1800; drawings of the Bank of Pennsylvania; sketches of the Bank of the United States, and sundry small engravings. The Water-works and the Bank of Pennsylvania have long since disappeared; the Bank of the United States, however, converted into the Custom-house, is still standing, an illustration of the taste and skill of its architect. The drawings of the Water-works exhibit in a striking way the energy of the people of Philadelphia, showing as they do the magnitude, difficulty, and costly character of the undertaking, then without a precedent in America, either as regards the object in view or the means of accomplishing it.

A Philadelphia Broadside.—

IN COUNCIL OF SAFETY

Philadelphia, December 2, 1776.

Resolved,

That it is the Opinion of this Board, that all the Shops in this City be shut up, that the Schools be broke up, and the Inhabitants engaged solely in providing for the Defence of this City, at this Time of extreme Danger.

By Order of Council,

David Rittenhouse, *Vice-President.*

[Philadelphia, Printed by Henry Miller, in Race-street.]

New Jersey Historical Society.—The annual meeting of the New Jersey Historical Society was held January 24, 1888, at Trenton, and was opened with some remarks by the Rev. Dr. Hamill, the President, briefly reviewing the work of the Society since it was organized in 1845. Of the original officers the only survivor is the Hon. Joseph P. Bradley, the first Recording Secretary, now Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States. The paper of the day was by A. D. Mellick, Jr., of Plainfield, entitled "The Hessians in New Jersey—Just a Little in their Favor." Officers of the Society were elected for the ensuing year, as follows: President, Rev. Samuel M. Hamill, D.D.; Vice-Presidents, Hon. John T. Nixon, Hon. John Clement, Dr. Samuel H. Pennington; Corresponding Secretary, Dr. Stephen Wickes, of Orange; Recording Secretary, William Nelson, of Paterson; Treasurer and Librarian, F. W. Ricord, Newark; Executive Committee, George A. Halsey, Rev. George S. Mott, D.D., John F. Hageman, David A. Depue, Nathaniel Niles, John I. Blair, General William S. Stryker, Franklin Murphy, and Robert F. Ballantine. Plans were exhibited of the new building which it is proposed to erect at Newark for the Society's use, at a cost of twenty-five thousand dollars, and a very general desire was manifested to see it completed. A resolution was adopted expressing sympathy with the people of Greenesburg, Penn., in their efforts to get that third *e* restored to the name of the place, in honor of General Greene, although Mr. Nelson thought it would be well to wait until the New Jersey Legislature would restore the name of the Kill Van Kull, now called Kill *Von* Kull, and Pinhorne, near Snake Hill, now called Penn Horn, although it should properly perpetuate the name of William Pinhorne, Justice of the Supreme Court of New Jersey two hundred years ago, and for many years prominent in the Councils of both New Jersey and New York. The next meeting of the Society will be held at Newark in May.

The American Folk-Lore Society.—At Cambridge, Mass., in January last, this Society was organized "for the study of Folk-Lore in general, and in particular the collection and publication of the Folk-Lore of North America." It was also decided that the Society shall publish a journal, to promote such a collection, a copy of which will be sent to each member thereof. The annual subscription fee is three dollars. The officers of the Society are: President—Prof. F. J. Child, Cambridge, Mass. Council—Prof. Wm. F. Allen, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis.; Mr. H. H. Bancroft, San Francisco, Cal.; Dr. Franz Boas, New York City, N.Y.; Dr. D. G. Brinton, Media, Pa.; Prof. T. F. Crane, Cornell University, Ithaca, N.Y.; Miss Alice C.

Fletcher, Winnebago, Indian Agency; Mr. Horatio Hale, Clinton, Ont.; Mrs. Hemenway, Boston, Mass.; Prof. H. W. Henshaw, Bureau of Ethnology, Washington, D.C.; Colonel Chas. C. Jones, Augusta, Ga.; Pres. Wm. Preston Johnston, Tulane University, New Orleans, La.; Prof. O. T. Mason, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.; Mr. W. W. Newell, Cambridge, Mass.; Mr. H. E. Scudder, Cambridge, Mass.

Queries.

Oliver.—*Evan Oliver*, from Radnorshire, Wales, came to Philadelphia with William Penn in the "Welcome," 1682. He presented his certificate from Bristol, England, to the Philadelphia Monthly Meeting, August 26, 1683. He was assessed in 1693 in Philadelphia for £30, at 2/6. He purchased a lot in Philadelphia, 1683. No other mention is made of him in that city. He brought with him his wife, Jean, and seven children,—viz., 1. David; 2. Elizabeth; 3. John; 4. Hannah; 5. Mary, who married, June 2, 17—, Thomas Canby, of Wilmington, Delaware; 6. Evan; 7. Seaborn.

Did David—John—Evans leave any issue, and can any one give their names?

William Oliver received five hundred acres of land in New Castle County, Delaware, from the Commissioners in Philadelphia, March 30, 1686.

Thomas Oliver came from Dolobran, Wales, to Pennsylvania, and his certificate was received in Friends' Meeting, Philadelphia, December 25, 1723. Can any one give the issue of William and Thomas?

What connection, if any, was there between these three, Evan, William, and Thomas? Who were Samuel Oliver, Sussex County, Delaware, 1723; Susannah Oliver, "spinster," Sussex County, Delaware, 1733; Aaron Oliver, of Sussex County, 1734, who left daughters, Esther Bennett, Abigail Hayes, Elizabeth Morris, and Sarah Lofland? Did Reuben and Joseph Oliver, of New York City, 1754, and Melford, Delaware, 1764 and 1768, descend from any of the above? Any light cast upon the subject will be grateful to

Rev. Horace Edwin Hayden.

Wilkes-Barre, Pennsylvania.

Tyson—Potts—Roberts—Kirk.—Information is desired in regard to the ancestry and descendants of *Rynier Tyson* and his *wife*, who came over in 1683 from Crefeld with thirteen other emigrants and their families, and settled in Germantown with Francis Daniel Pastorius. Also in regard to *Thomas Roberts*, of Wales, who is supposed to have come over with William Penn in the "Canterbury," in 1699, and settled in Bristol Township, between Philadelphia and Germantown and married *Eleanor Potts*, daughter of *Samuel Potts*, of Valley Forge. Also of Samuel's wife. Peter Tyson, third son of Rynier Tyson, married Mary, daughter of Samuel Potts, in August, 1727. Also in regard to Jonathan Roberts, who married Martha Kirk, daughter of Rynier and Mary (Michener) Kirk. Also in regard to *John Kirk*, who married Sarah, daughter of Rynier Tyson, and mother of Rynier Kirk. V. S.

James Rudolph Reid.—When and where was James Rudolph Reid, member of Continental Congress, 1787–88, born, and where and when did he die? J. G. L.

Captain John Bush, Third Pennsylvania Regiment.—I am trying to ascertain the present whereabouts of the certificate of membership to, and the "eagle" badge of, the Society of the Cincinnati that belonged to Captain John Bush, of the Third Pennsylvania Regiment, of the army of 1776, and thought possibly it might have come into the possession of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. Can you give me any information about the same?

Lewis B. Jackson.

Philadelphia.

Glasius.—"Nederland. Biographisch. woordenb. van Nederl. Godgeleerden. *Hertogenb.*, Gebr. Müller. (Amst. J. H. v. d. Beek.) 1851–56. gr. 8° 3 dln." The undersigned would be extremely obliged to any one stating where a copy of the above book, a biography of the clergy of Holland, can be seen or for a few extracts from its pages. There is no copy in any of the Philadelphia libraries, the Astor of New York, or the Public Library or Athenæum of Boston, or the libraries of the N. E. Genealogical Society and Harvard College.

William John Potts.

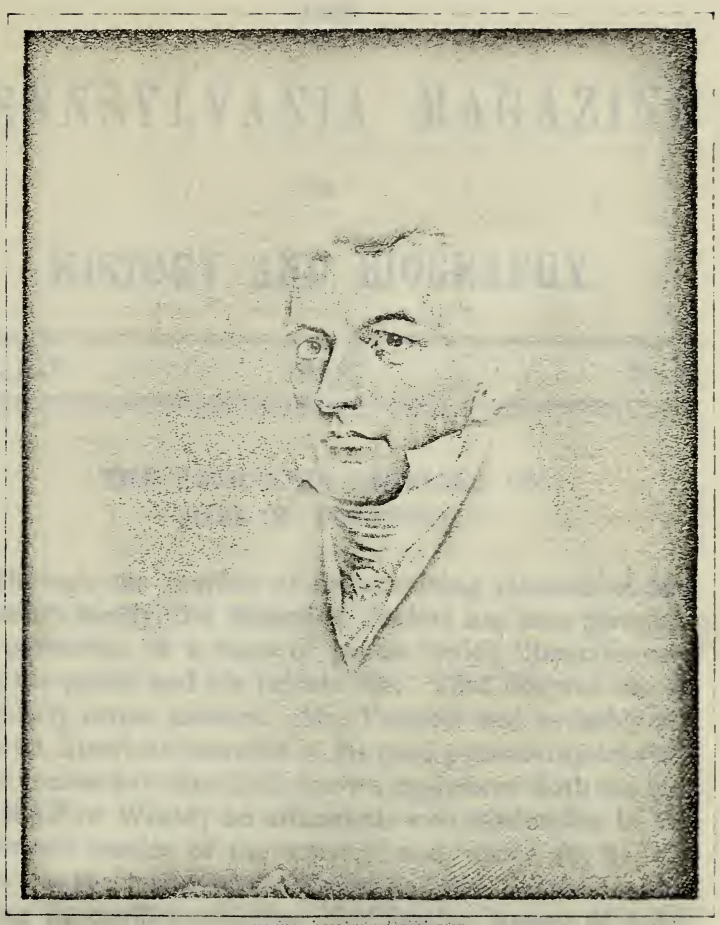
Camden, New Jersey.

"The Spirit of Despotism," by the Rev. Vicesimus Knox.—The late Edward Solly, in the English *Notes and Queries* for May, 1883, says of this work, "If the history of this book as commonly given is true, the original edition of 1797 must be one of the rarest books in existence. It is said that Dr. Knox wrote it in 1794, and had it printed in London in 1795, but being, on reconsideration, apprehensive that he had used language too glowing and enthusiastic, determined to suppress it, and accordingly he did so suppress it, only three copies being left in existence. Of these one went to America, and another in time fell into the hands of Mr. Hone. The American copy was immediately reprinted with the title, 'The | Spirit | of | Despotism | [Two mottoes.] London, printed in the year 1795 | Philadelphia | Reprinted by Lang and Ustick for Selves | and Mathew Carey | Nov. 28, MDCCXCV | 12mo. twelve pages to the sheet, preface and contents I–X, pp. 1–342.' Is anything known as to the two copies said to be existing in England or the one thus reprinted in America? I have made search in vain after them, and am led to suspect that the American edition of 1795 was really the first one. If a copy of the English edition of that date is in existence, I should be very glad to know where."

The writer possesses two copies of what is unquestionably another American edition of this work, printed at Darby, in the vicinity of Philadelphia, it is supposed, though no place is mentioned beyond the following: "The | Spirit | of | Despotism. | [Two mottoes.] London: Printed in the year 1795. | Darby: | Re-published by Alexander M. Kemble. | 1837." 12mo. Preface pp. v.+7–204. As this is closely printed, it may contain as much as Lang-Ustick's edition. Was there any such publisher at Darby as Alexander M. Kemble? Was there a large edition? This extremely radical work is a violent tirade against the English aristocracy, and is very curious as a reflection of the spirit of the French Revolution on Englishmen, containing many eloquent passages.

William John Potts.

Camden, New Jersey.



JOEL R. POINSETT.

J. R. Poinsett

THE

PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE

OF

HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY.

Vol. XII. 1888. No. 2.

THE LIFE AND SERVICES OF JOEL R. POINSETT.

[Through the courtesy of the surviving member of Mr. Poinsett's family, the Historical Society has been placed in the possession of a mass of papers which illustrate very fully his public and his private life. That life was one of singularly varied interest. Mr. Poinsett was probably the greatest American traveller of his time, penetrating into the most remote and then little known regions of both the Old and the New World; he afterwards won distinction in the diplomatic service of the country, and, above all, he was known as the leader of the Union party in South Carolina during its conflict with the Nullification heresy of 1832. The papers which he left at his death, and which his family have placed at the disposal of the Historical Society, seem to be of great value and interest, as they throw light upon the important events in which he took part. An attempt has been made so to connect them in the following narrative that their true significance as contributions to American history may be understood.]

The career of Mr. Poinsett is not very familiar to this generation, at least in this part of the country, and indeed, the recollection of the great events which are associated in our history with his name during more than a third of the present century has strangely faded from the memory of most people. But fifty years ago his reputation as a statesman of a high order had been fairly gained by his public services, and was generally recognized. His title to this reputation seems, on a review of his public life, to have been on the whole a just one. He belonged in his early manhood to that small but brilliant body of Americans who, with plenty of means, many accomplishments, and much leisure, travelled with very observant eyes most extensively in portions of Europe, then little visited by cultivated people of any country. Their qualities gained them admission into the highest social circles in the countries in which they travelled, and they succeeded by some means, of which those who came after them seem to have lost the secret, in knowing everybody worth knowing, however high their rank or official position throughout Europe, and in leaving a most favorable impression of themselves, and of the nation which they may be said to have informally represented. The curiosity of the foremost courtiers and statesmen of the Old World (men whose names are now historical) was naturally excited by observing the peculiarities of the citizens of the New, as they were exhibited in the types who, at that era, presented themselves as Americans. It cannot be doubted that men like Washington Irving in his younger days, the late Mr. George Ticknor, and Mr. Poinsett among others did us a service with the governing classes of the Old World during the first third of this century which it is not easy to over-estimate.

Mr. Poinsett was not only a great traveller in his early manhood, but wherever he went he was proud of being known as an American citizen, a title which his own personal qualities invested in the eyes of those with whom he was brought in contact with consideration and respect. He wandered too through the most remote regions of

Russia. He became acquainted with the Tartars, the Persians, the Armenians, the Georgians who live in the Trans-Caucasian range of mountains, and along the shores of the Caspian Sea, forming various tribes whose rulers had never heard of the existence of America; later, his travels led him to the other end of the world, to South America, where he was sent by our government to ascertain the condition of the different provinces at that time in revolt against the Spanish Crown. In all these countries he became favorably known to the most distinguished men of the time, from the Emperor Alexander of Russia down to the famous revolutionary chiefs in South America. Everywhere he was received and treated with the utmost kindness and consideration. His great intelligence, his wonderful tact in dealing with men, and his perfect sincerity gave him a commanding influence wherever he went, and that influence was always employed for the advancement of his country's interests.

The four years he passed in Congress (1821 to 1825) added much to his fame, owing to his long familiarity from personal observation with all that concerned our foreign relations. He was thought so peculiarly fitted for the diplomatic service that he was appointed our first Minister to Mexico. There, even with his experience, he found it difficult to steer clearly through the embarrassments which were caused by the distracted and revolutionary condition of the country, but the knowledge that he gained was invaluable to us, and he at least taught the Mexicans, on a memorable occasion, a lesson in regard to the respect due the American flag (of which more hereafter) which they have never forgotten.

He returned from Mexico just in time to take the lead of the Union party in South Carolina in its conflict with the nullification and threatened secession of that State,—a post peculiarly suited to his active and intrepid spirit. It seems to me that he has never received proper credit for the courage and intelligence with which he maintained the cause of the Union in those dark days when the great forces—social and political—not only of South Carolina, but of a consid-

erable portion of other States of the South, were in the hands of the nullifiers, and of those who sympathized with them. By his influence, and that of the Union party led by him, supported by the inflexible determination of President Jackson to maintain the Union by any display of force which might be necessary to accomplish his object, the conspiracy for nullifying the laws of Congress, which was embodied in the famous ordinance of South Carolina in 1832, was broken up, the ordinance itself was repealed, and South Carolina was once more brought into her normal relations with the general government.

Some years later Mr. Poinsett became the Secretary of War in the Cabinet of Mr. Van Buren. His administration of that office was marked by intelligent and comprehensive measures in regard to many subjects of national interest, among others the improvement of the artillery of the army, the honest treatment of the Indians dependent upon the government, and the organization of the famous exploring expedition under Commodore Wilkes. He laid the foundation of much that has since been done by the government, by advocating a wise and liberal national policy with reference to these and kindred objects. During his whole career Mr. Poinsett proved himself a thorough and typical American. His notions of public policy were essentially national, and his allegiance to the government of the United States was always paramount. As such a public man, especially a public man from South Carolina imbued with such principles, and always standing firm on the national side, is something of a political curiosity, his life and career seem well worth studying.

Joel Roberts Poinsett was born in Charleston on the 2d of March, 1778. He was of that Huguenot stock whose force, intelligence, and virtue have been so conspicuous in the history of the whole country, and especially in that of South Carolina. His father, Dr. Elisha Poinsett, was an eminent physician in Charleston, and he seems to have taken uncommon pains in the training of his son. Young Poinsett's school days were passed in Charleston and in Greenfield, in

Connecticut, in which latter place he was under the care and instruction of the Rev. Dr. Dwight, afterwards so famous as the President of Yale College. His constitution was naturally frail and delicate, and it was found that his health suffered so much from the severe climate of Connecticut that he returned after two years' absence to Charleston. There, for a time, he pursued his studies, but in 1796 it was determined to send him to England, and enter him as a pupil at St. Paul's School in London, where his relative, Dr. Roberts, was the Head Master. There he made great progress, particularly in his knowledge of the languages. He was a respectable classical scholar, for he speaks in after-years of having studied Herodotus in the original Greek, as a guide-book to his travels in Southern Russia and the shores of the Caspian Sea. In modern languages he became very proficient. He acquired a fluent knowledge of French, German, Italian, and Spanish, and made some progress in Russian, a sort of knowledge which proved eminently useful to him as a traveller.

From London he went to Edinburgh, intending to pursue his medical studies there. He soon became the favorite pupil of the celebrated Dr. Gregory, then one of the foremost Professors in the University. His health, however, broke down, owing to confinement to his hard work as a medical student. By the advice of his friends he abandoned for a time the study of medicine, and went to Portugal. Returning with restored strength, he became a pupil of Marquois, who had been a Professor in the Military Academy at Woolwich. The bent of Mr. Poinsett's mind and tastes was always towards the life of a soldier, and under Marquois he acquired a thorough theoretical knowledge of his profession, and his body was strengthened by the active military habits and discipline in which he was trained. His father, however, was averse to his entering the army in time of peace, and he was called back to Charleston, and became a student of law. This pursuit, however, was little suited to his active, not to say restless, habits, and it was soon abandoned. He was then permitted by his father to return to

Europe and to become, what his ardent curiosity and quick intelligence had always inclined him to be, a traveller, going wherever his love of knowledge or adventure might call him. He spent the winter of 1801–2 in Paris. He was fortunate in being there at a period the most interesting and important in many respects of any in French history. It was the period of the first consulate of Napoleon, the era of transition from the horrors of the Revolution and of civil and foreign war to the settlement of a stable and orderly government. It was the era of the peace of Lunéville and of Amiens, which had been brought about by the French victories of Hohenlinden and Marengo. Never, perhaps, in the whole career of Napoleon was his power of doing good so absolute as at this particular epoch, and never was his transcendent genius so conspicuous as when he strove to reconstruct French society from the ruins which had been left by the Revolution. Mr. Poinsett witnessed the beginning of the mighty task which Napoleon had undertaken of endeavoring to bring order out of chaos. During his residence in Paris the churches were reopened for Divine service, and a Concordat with the Pope agreed upon, the Legion of Honor was established, a general amnesty was proclaimed, the national finances and credit were re-established, a new system of taxation was adopted, the revolutionary law of succession to property was confirmed, a system of education was organized, the *Code Civil*, perhaps the grandest and certainly the most enduring monument of the Napoleonic era, was discussed and its main principles settled, and throughout France vast works of public utility designed to make people forget the miseries of the Revolution, and bless the government of the First Consul, were undertaken. It was an era of unbounded activity and high hopefulness. The young American traveller had abundant opportunity of studying the effect of these conciliatory measures on public opinion, and of witnessing the violent struggle between the elements of the old and new as the master-hand of Napoleon fused them together. Paris, too, at that time was full of foreigners, many of them men of

distinction in their respective countries, who had been led there during the peace by their curiosity to see the wonderful First Consul, and who wished to judge for themselves of the likelihood of the stability of the vast changes which he had made in the organization of the national life. With these men, as well as with the distinguished soldiers who surrounded Napoleon, he discussed freely the various measures proposed for the reorganization of the nation, and thus in a very important way his political education was advanced.

The next year Mr. Poinsett, taking advantage of the yet unbroken peace, visited Italy, then divided into a number of ephemeral republics established by the French after their conquest of the country. He did not fail to observe how little the real character of the people of that country had been changed by the strange republicanism (according to his standard) which had been forced upon them by the French. That character remained still Italian, with all its defects and characteristic traits, and the administration was wholly controlled by French agents, and in harmony with French policy and interests.

These were new specimen types of the republican form for Mr. Poinsett, and he found another of the same kind when he reached Switzerland on his travels. Switzerland was the oldest republic in modern history, but its ancient organization was not of the French pattern, and did not suit the French policy after the country had been overrun by the French armies. The radical party supported by the French strove to establish, contrary to all Swiss traditions and experience, a highly centralized system, the other, one in which each canton should be practically independent. This latter party, made up chiefly of the men of the forest cantons, determined upon resistance, and they selected the celebrated Aloys Reding as their leader. When Mr. Poinsett reached Switzerland he found that Reding had raised an army of ten thousand men to maintain the cantonal independence, and he joined his army without hesitation. The campaign was a short one, and Reding's forces even gained an important victory over their own countrymen at Morgarten, a spot

sacred in the eyes of the Swiss, for there they had, in 1515, destroyed the army of their Austrian tyrants under the leadership of a Reding of the same name and lineage as that of their present leader, but the French allies of their enemies having surrounded them, and cut them off from all supplies, Reding and his followers were forced to capitulate.

Mr. Poinsett seems always to have embraced the opportunity of becoming acquainted with the men in each country he visited who had become for any reason famous. From the camp of Reding he passed into the society of M. Necker and that of his accomplished daughter, Madame de Staël, who were then exiles from France, and were residing at Coppet, on the shores of the Lake of Geneva. Through the kind offices of Mr. Livingston, then American Minister in France, who was travelling in Switzerland, he was brought into friendly relations with these illustrious personages. They told him much concerning the stormy scenes of the French Revolution, in the early part of which they had been such prominent actors, and, according to Mr. Poinsett's account, they never wearied of talking of events in French and American history. They explained, too, the secret motives (which none knew better than they) of many little-understood acts of the French government in its policy towards the United States during the American Revolution. Mr. Poinsett confirms—what was well known from other sources—the filial devotion, approaching adoration, with which Madame de Staël regarded her father in his declining years. Owing to his imperfect utterance through the loss of his teeth, and Mr. Livingston's deafness, Madame de Staël became to Mr. Poinsett the charming interpreter of the words of wisdom which fell from his lips.

From Switzerland Mr. Poinsett went to Vienna, passing through Southern Germany, at that time far from being the attractive and interesting country which it has since been made by the conveniences of modern travel. He remained but a short time in Vienna, long enough, however, to become a *habitué* of the salon of the celebrated Prince de Ligne, the most distinguished soldier of Austria. He was called

home by the news of the death of his father, and by the serious illness of his only sister.

His love of travel and of adventure still remaining unabated, he returned in 1806 to Europe, intending to carry out his long-cherished plan of travelling in Russia. Indeed, at that time this was the only country on the Continent through which a traveller could pass without inconvenience or danger, as it was the only one which was not overrun by the armies engaged in the Napoleonic wars. He landed at Gothenburg, and passed through Sweden so rapidly that he seemed impressed chiefly with the extraordinary contrast between the poverty of the people and the vast amount of food and drink which they were capable of consuming.

After a painful and tedious journey through Finland, he reached St. Petersburg in the beginning of the winter of 1806–7. At this capital he had unusual advantages of studying the character of the people and the condition of the country at a most important crisis. We had then no Minister in Russia, and Mr. Poinsett was afterwards told by the Emperor Alexander that he was the second American gentleman who had been presented to him.

The condition of Russia during that winter was a very critical one, as the danger of a French invasion became imminent. After the victories of Austerlitz and Jena, by which the French had destroyed the armies of Austria and Prussia, they pressed on eastward with the hope of subduing their ally, Russia. The battles of Eylau and of Pultusk were fought during this period, and although the Russians claimed a victory in each case, the progress of the French towards their frontier was not stopped. Those who were responsible for the safety of the country were filled with grave anxiety, and the Emperor Alexander did not hesitate to say, in a confidential conversation with Mr. Poinsett, that he might even be obliged to sign a treaty of peace under the walls of Tobolsk (Siberia). A ukase was issued in December calling for six hundred thousand additional troops to defend the Empire. Notwithstanding all these preparations, and the grave preoccupations of the

time, the winter gayeties of St. Petersburg, according to Mr. Poinsett, were not interrupted. How the Russians bore themselves, and how they entertained strangers while in imminent danger of invasion, is best told in Mr. Poinsett's own letters, extracts from which we lay before the reader.

. . . "Our consul, Mr. Levett Harris, asked permission to present me at Court on the first presentation day, whereupon he received the next day a note from the Baron de Budberg minister of foreign affairs asking an interview, whereat he told him, that the Emperor would not wait until the next presentation day, but would receive Mr. Poinsett the following morning at Parade and that an *aide-de-camp* would be sent to conduct him there. Accordingly I rose and dressed by candlelight and after taking a cup of coffee had not long to wait for the officer who was sent to usher me to the Imperial presence. We were set down at the door of an immense barrack where I found the Emperor in front of the guard surrounded by a train of general officers in brilliant uniforms. He towered above them all and was distinguished by his great height and manly form, as well as by a pleasing and refined expression of countenance. He received me courteously, even kindly. Spoke favorably of our country, said that I was the second American gentleman who had visited Russia and was glad to hear that I was the friend of Mr. Allen Smith who was remembered in Russia with esteem and whose departure had been universally regretted. He made a sort of apology for receiving me so unceremoniously but supposed an American would not object to be so treated. After a pretty long talk he bowed meaningly & I withdrew. I have since been to court and been presented to the Reigning Empress and the Empress Mother—on this occasion the Emperor advanced to meet me & shook me cordially by the hand. This distinction has brought me into notice, into fashion I may say. I have not dined in my own lodgings since I have been here nor passed an evening in quiet. I dine out daily as a thing of course, and go in the early part of the evening to some ball or *soirée* or reunion of some sort and close the night at Count Gregory Orloff's where the members of the Diplomatic Corps usually drop in to sup & talk over the news and events of the day. At Count Orloff's I meet many very pleasant men among them Pozzo di Borgo a Corsican gentleman who has just entered the service of Russia. I was going to say that his principal recommendation is his

avowed hatred & hostility to Napoleon, the inheritance of some family feud aggravated by personal injuries or insults; but he professes other qualifications for office, is well instructed and well informed, shrewd and bold. He enjoys the confidence of the Emperor & will rise high. He supped at Orloff's the first night after he donned the Russian uniform and we drank to his future success. He is a good talker and an agreeable companion.

"My acquaintance with that gifted nobleman Lord Royston son of Lord Hardwicke, ripened into friendship and as our tastes accorded we agreed to travel together in the spring into the Asiatic possessions of Russia. The southern portion of the Continent of Europe was closed to English travellers and they were fain to turn their steps to the north, so that I met many distinguished men from that country in Vienna & in St. Petersburg.

"Lord Royston was a ripe scholar and we read Herodotus together as a preparation for our eastern tour and studied Russ that we might talk a little to the people. We found it a difficult language to acquire and thought it resembled the Greek in the grammar & construction. Like the Greek, it has the dual which no other modern tongue has, & we found some good Russian translations of Grecian poetry.

"Let me tell you how the day passes here to the idle man of leisure who seeks to make the time agreeable. I generally dress by candle light so that the dawn of a winter's day finds me ready to read or go forth to parade to show myself. Here the Emperor sometimes chats with me and the officers always. By the way I am indebted to them for information which saved me from much suffering. It is against all forms of etiquette to present oneself with great coat or other outward covering before the Emperor, so that the first time I waited on him at Parade I nearly perished with cold. The officers saw my situation and advised me before I repeated my visit to have my clothes lined with oiled silk—I did so and never suffered again from the same cause. After breakfast Lord Royston calls and we have our Russian master & read for an hour or two when we then go out to walk or drive to see sights or separate to our several amusements. I usually to the *Salle D'Armes* kept by one Silverbrük a German an excellent master. Here there is always good company. We then sometimes adjourn to take a second breakfast with Prince Adam Ctzartorizki an accomplished Polish nobleman and a great favorite of the Emperor Alexander. Then home to dress for dinner

and the evening passes as already described. Apropos of dining I received the other day an invitation, an order I should have said, to dine with the Emperor at three o'clock. I repaired to the palace at the hour indicated and was received by the Marshal Prince Tolstoi, and ushered into the presence. The Empress who is one of the most dignified persons, very pretty withal, I ever saw was walking about the room with her sister and His Majesty standing at a window overlooking the Neva. A favorite *aide-de-camp* was present who with the Mareschale made our party of six. I was received unceremoniously and treated kindly so much so that but for a little extra magnificence at table might have fancied myself dining with a *bon bourgeois*. Some of the servants were from the East & wore the rich and somewhat fantastic dress of their country. The soul of the repast was an easy, pleasant flow of talk in which the Empress mingled with great sweetness & good sense. After dinner we returned to the reception room, where we partook of coffee and had a very long conversation upon the political affairs of Europe. The Emperor urged me to learn the language and seemed pleased when I told him I was doing so. He then expressed a wish that I should visit his dominions and bring him an exact account of their condition adding some flattering words which I will not repeat. I have met him since and he has always renewed the subject. The last time he addressed a few words to me jocularly in Russ which I fortunately understood & could answer. He laughed and encouraged me to persevere. By the way these meetings in the streets are awful events. When the Emperor stops to talk to any person, which he does very rarely, every one stops too so that the pavement & street are choked with the passengers no doubt cursing in their hearts the interruption and its cause.

"As I was told would happen after dining with the Emperor, the Empress Mother who keeps a court of her own invited me to her table. This was a very different affair, a dinner of twelve covers the only ladies the Empress and the Grand Duchess Catherine, the men were the officers of her court and attached to her service. I dare say pleasant gentlemanly men, but I had no opportunity of ascertaining their companionable qualities. I was seated nearly opposite the Empress and we had all the talk to ourselves. She took no notice of any one else & addressed herself altogether to me sometimes questioning me without pity & at others telling me of her charitable and manufacturing establish-

ments both here and at Moscow. I must see them from Cronstadt to Moscow. The first part I have undergone, but the best is to be seen at Moscow, an orphan house & establishment of *Demoiselles nobles.* The magnificence and refinement displayed in these court entertainments are captivating and the notice of such personages highly flattering. It has not turned my head quite & I do not think it would be agreeable to pass one's life in such company. I was going to write Society but there is no Society properly so called without perfect equality. As I promised I went to Cronstadt the port of St. Petersburg. Harris (the Consul) accompanied me in a sleigh. We set out before daylight that we might return the same evening. We saw the cotton manufactory which is under the patronage of the Empress mother, and the workshops of the navy yard, all very inferior to those I had seen at home and in England. In the former I especially noted the excellencies & defects for I was warned that I should have to undergo a strict examination the first time I met the lady patroness. Looking from the docks to seaward as far as the eye could reach was one sheet of ice covered with a thick coating of snow. I was summoned to the palace to assist at another dinner party & to be questioned by the Empress mother. The affair went off exactly as the first party had done except that we talked a great deal about carding & spinning. I explained how cards were made in the United States by machinery, and her Majesty gave instant orders to have the machinery introduced into her manufactory at Cronstadt. I did not say so, but was sure manufactures fostered by imperial favor alone will never succeed. There is nothing of the energy & economy of individual interest and the workmen are serfs receiving only a scanty modicum not sufficient to maintain their families in any sort of comfort. The women in serfdom pay no tribute, neither do they receive any wages when they accompany their husbands to these imperial workshops; altogether it is a wretched system. Alexander is suspected of being opposed to it & his actions and sayings are watched with great jealousy by the nobles whose estates consist altogether of this description of property. Fortunes are estimated by the number of souls a proprietor possesses. These souls (the men only) are not ill treated and pay only a moderate tribute; but notwithstanding the numerous humane ukases for their especial benefit, they and their families are slaves and although by law *adscripti glebæ* are sometimes sold without the land.

"The Emperor said to me one day, 'we cannot create a mercantile marine and have been hitherto entirely dependant upon England for the transportation of our produce. We now hope the United States will relieve us from this dependance, and are therefore anxious to encourage your shipping and to form the closest commercial relations with you. You must say so to your President,' which I accordingly did. But I sought the reason why Russia could not possess a commercial marine and soon found it in the nature of her institutions. If a ship is to be fitted out for a foreign port the ship's husband must give security that the sailors, who are private property will return to their owners. A condition so burdensome puts an effectual stop to all mercantile enterprize in Russian bottoms. The ships of war are manned either by the Crown peasants or by draft as the army is filled. By the way no army is recruited with so little trouble. Orders are extended to the Landed proprietors to furnish on a given day so many per cent. of their vassals of a certain age. The poor serfs are marched to the rendezvous and on the appointed day received by the recruiting officer, shaved, uniformed and speedily converted under the rudest discipline into a regular soldier of wonderful endurance and great passive courage.

"There is in St. Petersburg a college of foreign affairs where those who are destined to conduct the civil and political affairs of the country are educated. It ensures some fitness and a steady undeviating policy in the government as some clever men have been brought up here. I distinguished young Count Nesselrode and Count Lieven among the number—Dolgorouki, but why should I repeat these Russian names which you will never retain nor care about even if they should hereafter become conspicuous in history. In this country to have rank at Court it is not sufficient to be born the son of a Knas or Prince the Russians have translated the word. A Knas is in most respects like the ancient Scotch Laird—chief of a clan, but the Knas's clan are more slaves than the highlanders ever were. Prince indeed! All the sons & daughters of these hereditary landholders are called Prince & Princess which multiplies the number of these titles inconveniently—Counts are more rare. They are later creations since Peter the Great and copied from the German; Graf & Gräffen serving to designate the numerous tribe in both countries. Well neither Prince or Count take rank at Court or dare drive about the streets of St. Petersburg or Moscow in a coach & four

unless they have served in some civil or military capacity up to the rank of Major. All rank having relation to the military. My excellent friend Count Gregory Orloff, a Senator & Privy Counsellor, is a Lieutenant-General although he never saw an army except at a grand review.

"I have seen a magnificent display of the Imperial troops, 20,000 men of all arms drawn up & maneuvreing on the solid ice of the Neva. You have no idea of the imposing appearance of such an array. Horse, foot & artillery perfectly appointed thundering away upon the smooth plain of the river. The cold was too intense for the troops to remain out long, so that the solemn impression of the spectacle rested pleasingly on the imagination. We have heard of the battles of Pultusk and Preusse Eylau. The Russians claim the victory and have chaunted *Te Deum;* but there is an air of consternation about the Court which induces me to fear the worst. The Emperor too said to me that he would make peace under the walls of Tobolsk; which looks like an expectation of being driven out of his capital by the arch fiend as Buonaparte is denominated here in common parlance. The common people look upon him as the devil incarnate for he has been excommunicated in the Greek churches of the Empire.

"The Emperor is about to depart and draw nearer the frontier. This movement I find fills his most sagacious friends with fear. If he joins the army his courage will expose him to danger & they dread his Eldest Brother Constantine. He is indeed a fiend, and with a government such as this the only alternative would be to repeat the tragedy of the death of Paul. Again those who know Alexander best say that he will succumb in case of renewed reverses and make peace with France. We shall see. The Emperor told me he was going & spoke right manfully. He sent for me to dinner at the palace and after it was over took me by the arm and walked into an adjoining apartment. I am a little deaf you know said he & want to talk to you confidentially. He put many pertinent questions about our country & our system & after hearing my replies said emphatically well that is a glorious form of gov^t. & if I were not an Emperor I would be a Republican, meaning of course that if he were not an Autocrat, a sovereign *per se* he would be one of the sovereigns. He then said that it was a pleasant thing to converse with a man who had no fear of offending & no favor to ask or expect, but that he wished to change these relations with regard to me and

would gladly see me enter his service either civil or military. Seeing me about to reply & reading hesitation in my looks he continued execute your project, see the Empire, acquire the language, study the people & when we meet again let me hear your determination; and so we parted. The prospect is a brilliant one but somehow I cannot reconcile it to my sense of duty to abandon my country."

In March, 1807, Mr. Poinsett, accompanied by Lord Royston, began his journey to the southeastern provinces of Russia. They were furnished by the government with every facility for travelling in safety through the wild regions on the borders of the Caspian and the Black Seas, being specially recommended to the care of the Russian commanders in that quarter. They reached Moscow after a journey of five days, suffering intensely from the cold, and travelling in a conveyance which Mr. Poinsett says, "rolled and pitched like a vessel in a choppy head sea," the motion at times making them quite sea-sick. At Moscow they saw what few Americans have ever seen,—that wonderful city in its strange Oriental aspect, before it was destroyed by fire after its conquest by the French in 1812. From Moscow they passed on eastwardly to the ancient Tartar city of Kasan, and thence down the Volga to Astrachan at its mouth. Here they entered upon the threshold of a world totally new and strange to a Western traveller. That portion of Russia which they proposed to visit had been recently annexed to the Empire, the eastern part, or that between the Caspian and the Caucasian Mountains, having been taken from the Persians by Peter the Great, while the western, that between those mountains and the Black Sea, known as Georgia, had been conquered from the Turks by the Empress Catherine. These districts were then occupied by Russian troops, and they were inhabited by wild and savage tribes of shepherds, who were still in a great measure ruled by their own khans, and retained many of their old habits and usages. They stood to Russia very nearly in the same relation which Russia had once held to their forefathers, the Tartar tribes, who

had overrun their territory,—that is, they were tributary states. The country which they occupied between the Caspian and the Black Seas formed the route which the larger portion of the original Aryan stock had taken in prehistoric times in their migration from Asia to Europe. Many traces of their most ancient manners, customs, and religions still remained. The population was a strange medley of races and tribes, retaining in many cases the various forms of religious worship which their fathers had brought with them from their original homes. There were collected in this out-of-the-way and comparatively small territory not only Russians, but Cossacks, Calmucks, Tartars, Hindoos, Persians, Greeks, and Armenians. Each race lived apart, and preserved some of its original distinctive peculiarities. The travellers visited, for instance, the Hindoo temple of Brahma at Astrachan. There they saw, what has often been observed by travellers in India, a form of worship and ritual resembling in some respects that of the Roman Catholic mass. Buddhists were also to be found among the Calmuck Tartars, and the worship of the Lamas. They were there shown the famous prayer-machine, consisting of a barrel, on which were pasted written prayers, which, when revolved with great rapidity in the face of the idols placed before it, prayed as much and as effectually, in the opinion of their priests, in one minute as could be done in the ordinary method in a whole day. Later on, near Baku, on the southern shore of the Caspian, the seat of the naphtha- or petroleum-wells, and now the centre of a vast trade in that article with all parts of Europe and Asia, they encountered the Guebres, or Fire-Worshippers, who were Persian pilgrims, who had travelled a long distance in order to perform their devotions in the "Land of Eternal Fire."

At Astrachan the travellers began to wonder why an empire so autocratic as that of Russia permitted such a diversity of opinions and usages in matters of religion as prevailed there, and this wonder was increased as they penetrated farther into the country. They saw nothing which they were in the habit of regarding as distinctively

Russian except the garrisons intended to preserve the peace and obedience of the country. At Astrachan they remained about three weeks, and, although the plague was raging in the town, and even in the quarantine grounds, their curiosity to see all the strange and novel things to be found in the neighborhood was boundless, and they were not deterred by fear of infection from visiting them all.

The Caucasian provinces to the south of Astrachan were inhabited by warlike pastoral tribes, still ruled by khans who were practically independent. The Russian authorities considered travelling through this region dangerous, especially where the travellers were two strangers, who claimed that their only motive for visiting the country was curiosity,—a motive which the natives could not, of course, appreciate. They were provided, therefore, with an escort of three hundred Cossacks. They were advised, it is said, by one of the khans whom they met at an early stage of their journey, to dismiss their escort, and to trust to Tartar hospitality for their safety and kind treatment. Fortunately for them, they did not follow his advice, as it proved that their guards were more to be trusted than some of the wild chieftains whom they met. They reached Derbend (Portæ Caspiæ) in safety, and thence went on to Baku, then a district regarded with superstitious terror as the land of eternal fire, and now converted into a place whence a large portion of the civilized world draws its supplies of material for artificial light. The travellers, of course, met with some curious adventures on their way, and of these Mr. Poinsett gives in one of his letters the following lively account:

". . . From the constant state of warfare in which this country has been involved the Peasantry invariably at our approach took to the woods, but after a little while finding that their houses were not burnt they returned, and the Mahamandar presented to the principal the firman for quarters and a supply of provisions, which generally produced great murmurings and generally ended by the Mahamandar beating them most unmercifully, this *argumentum baculorum* invariably produced a supper. Our quarters always consisted of either a scaffold erected on four poles

on the roof of a house, the inside being uninhabitable. The houses of the Peasantry are built of clay or unburnt brick. We had proceeded thro' a well cultivated Country having a view of Caspian on one side and the great chain of Mount Caucasus on the other the summits covered with snow. On the third morning the alarm was given that a troop of horsemen were advancing towards us, we arranged our little troop and prepared to receive them. When they were within musquet shot the Principal of them advanced and said that he was chief of several villages near us and entreated us with much importunity to accompany him to the nearest and spend the remainder of the day. We consented, and he immediately dispatched a Courier to have every thing prepared for our reception. We spent the remainder of the day with him and he entertained us in the best manner the village afforded. In the morning when we wished to proceed we missed the horses of our Conductor and Persian Escort; fortunately our own and the Copahs were picketed under a guard. Our treacherous host had disappeared. Whilst we were deliberating what was to be done, he sent us a message to say that as we were travelling without the escort of his Khan he should not permit us to proceed any farther, and if we attempted it by force he would raise the whole Country; he appeared at the same time at the head of a body of horse. To attempt to proceed would have been folly, to retreat to Derbend near two days journey was equally impracticable. We therefore resolved to gain Kouba the residence of the Khan about thirty miles from the village. I accordingly ordered the Copahs to seize all the horses in the village and mounted the Persians in the best manner possible and we began our march, the Beg and his followers hovered about us for some time without daring to attack us. He at length advanced, and demanded a Parley. I met him with only our Interpreter. He asked where we intended to go. I told him very calmly to the Khan of Kouba to complain of his robbery and insolence. He said all he wished was that we should go to the Khan and that he would accompany us. When we were within five miles of Kouba he again rode up, and said that if we would say nothing of what had passed to the Khan he would return the horses. We told him that we would make no conditions with such a villain. He hesitated for some time but at length returned the horses and his troop dispersed.

"Upon our arrival at Kouba we were conducted to the market Place into a large open Piazza where Carpets were

spread for us and we were desired to repose until the Khan was prepared to receive us. The whole town of Kouba collected in the market place to see European travellers a sight most rare in Kouba. The officers of the Khan household were obliged to exercise their sticks to keep them from crowding into the Piazza. After waiting more than an hour in grand exhibition, the gentleman waited upon us to say that the Khan was ready to receive us.

"The Khan was seated in a large Persian summer house an elevation of three stories without walls. On the third floor the Khan was seated surrounded by all his court. Without the circle his guard were stationed leaning upon their fusils reversed. The Khan made a sign to us to seat ourselves near him and welcomed us to Kouba. I immediately harangued him upon the occasion of our coming to the Court, detailed the whole conduct of the Beg and demanded to know whether it was by his orders that we had been treated in that infamons manner and ended by declaring that it would be an eternal stain to the bright reputation of Chiek-ali Khan that strangers had met with such outrages in the Khannate of Kouba. The astonishment of the whole court when this was interpreted to them is not to be described. The Khan disclaimed all knowledge of the transaction, expressed great regret at our treatment, but begged that now we were at Kouba we would no longer think of the disagreeable Circumstances which had brought us there, but endeavour to divert ourselves in the best manner possible. He then became very inquisitive asking questions dictated by the profoundest ignorance. We were obliged to give him a long geographical lecture which he made his secretary write. Upon being told that I was from America he asked me if the King of America was powerful among the Kings of Europe and if we joined the French Empire. After a long explanation he insisted upon knowing the name of our Shah and Thomas Jefferson is on record at the court of Chiek-ali Khan of Kouba as Shah of America. In the meantime the servants spread cotton Cloths round the room and placed before each guest a thin piece of bread near a yard long which served likewise the purpose of napkins for they eat with their fingers and grease their hands and beard most filthily. They next brought water to wash our hands, and placed before us different meats cut small, with rice. The Khan's Physician sat next to him and pointed out what he was to eat and served him with wine of which he drank plentifully, obliging us to pledge him each time observing

that he was a strict observer of the laws of Mahommed except in this one instance but he could not refrain from wine. Whenever any one drank 'Khan Saluna' or the health of the Khan re-echoed round the room; When he drank himself it was a horrid tintamarre for this ceremony was repeated four times. Whilst we dined, some musicians and buffoons entered the room and the Physician came to inform me that one of them would play the devil for our diversion. The droll put on a fools' Cap with bells and began dancing and singing with such antic gestures as put the whole court into a roar of laughter. Then ensued a Contest between two musicians who inflating their cheeks produced such long shrill notes from an octave pipe as excited universal applause. Their music consisted of these pipes, a three stringed fiddle, two guitars a small drum and two tambours de basque. They have little idea of time and have no notes, whilst they played, the whole Court beat time or rather clapped their hands. During the contest between the pipers which should produce the longest and shrillest notes, several girls entered, elegantly dressed after the Persian manner, long large red pantaloons which cover even the instep, a close silk jacket, and over it a short robe open in front, their heads covered with a vail. They took their seats at the lower end of the room and uncovered their faces. They were generally handsome & highly painted which is a general custom in the east. As the Pipe was handed constantly round they smoked in their turn with great *gout.* They danced and sung alternately, their dancing resembled that of the Spanish women, very little motion of the feet, but much graceful action of the arms and body. Their singing was a horrid squalling in loud falsett voice. They hid their faces which was necessary for to produce those sounds. The contortions must have been great. The Khan who had drank much wine became very facetious, and amused himself with drumming time upon his physicians head, and hitting his prime minister great thumps on the back to the great diversion of the court. During these entertainments fresh dishes were constantly brought in, some in a singular manner, the roast always on a long stick, which the *Ecuyer tranchant* shoved off into our plates. As this entertainment had lasted from five till long after midnight we thought it time to withdraw and accordingly took our leave retiring to our piazza, where we passed the remainder of the night.

"In the morning we performed our toilette before hundreds even in the market place. When we had breakfasted,

one of the officers led before us two handsome horses which he presented in his masters name. We shortly after had our audience of leave in which the Khan was particularly solicitous that we should mention him in foreign countries, and was particularly gratified on being assured that wherever we went we would always speak of the magnificence of Chiek-Ali Khan. We left the town of Kouba which is fortified with a single wall and delightfully situated in a vast valley, having a view of Mount Caucasus. As we had an escort from the Khan and his firman we continued our journey in perfect security. The Khannat of Kouba is the most beautiful and fertile country we had hitherto seen. We stopped the first night at a village where, as usual, the Inhabitants fled at our approach and upon their return were most unmercifully beaten. I assured these unfortunate people that I would pay them and made my interpreter offer them privately money, they refused however saying that should their Khan be apprized of their having received money from us they would be severely punished. Once indeed an Armenian declared that there were no provisions in the village and upon my giving him money rode off with the declared intention of purchasing every thing necessary from the next village, but we saw no more of him and upon his comrades being beaten they produced our usual supper which consisted of a Pilau. The ensuing day we left the Khannat of Kouba and entered that of Baku a gloomy desert, bleak barren hills sloping to the Caspian scarcely covered with a blade of grass.

"The Russian commander received us very politely and assigned us very good quarters, we were obliged to remain here several days to recruit our sick for the fatigue of riding on horseback and sleeping in the air had proved too much for two of our servants.

"The harbor of Baku is formed by a deep bay and the entrance protected by two islands. It is the best and indeed may be said to be the only port in the Caspian. The navigation of this sea is rendered extremely dangerous by the want of ports, the numerous sand banks, and frequent occurrence of gales of wind, which, altho' there is no tide, raise the sea to a great height, and occasions an overflow of the adjacent low lands.

"General Gouvief accompanied us to view the sources of Naptha which are within 15 miles of Baku and constitute its chief branch of commerce. On our approach to the source, the earth for a considerable distance round was covered with

a thin stratum of Naptha. The large source is of some depth and the petroleum is brought up in skins and deposited in large reservoirs whence it is conveyed in skins to Shamackie and other parts of Persia. It is used universally by the Persians for their lamps, and especially in the manufactories of silk, the people imagining that it is the only light they can use without destroying the worm. There are some small villages near these works, the machinery is the same used by the Persians and is as bad as can be imagined. There are some smaller sources of white naptha near this but the grey or black naptha is the most abundant and the most productive."

From Baku the travellers crossed the country to Tifflis, in Georgia. Thence they went to Armenia, and were present at the unsuccessful siege of Erivan by the Russians. As war was then waging between Russia and the Ottoman Porte they were, therefore, unable to reach Constantinople, but returned northward to Moscow and St. Petersburg, the first portion of the journey being through so sickly a country that out of the party of nine who had left Moscow together for their expedition only three returned alive. The health of Mr. Poinsett suffered so much during this journey that he was obliged to remain several months in St. Petersburg before he gained sufficient strength to travel to the waters of Toeplitz and Carlsbad.

On his way thither he passed through Koenigsberg, where the Court of conquered and devastated Prussia, driven from Berlin by the French, then resided. He was presented to the King and to the celebrated Louisa, Queen of Prussia (the mother of the late Emperor of Germany), celebrated alike for her beauty and her misfortunes. It was then generally thought, and the story even now is commonly believed, that the Queen had been insulted by the Emperor Napoleon while interceding with him for mercy towards the luckless country whose armies he had destroyed. The statement that she had been insulted she positively denied, according to Mr. Poinsett, and said that she had no other cause of complaint than that the Emperor refused to grant her prayer that he would spare her country. The King complained that the Emperor

Alexander, who had urged him to embark in this unhappy war, had accepted from Napoleon a portion of the dismembered Prussian territory.

At Toeplitz he met the Prince de Ligne, and Mr. Poinsett, true to his instinct which led him to search out all the prominent men of his time wherever he found them, was much interested and instructed by the view he gave him of public affairs at that critical period. The peculiarity of the Prince's position was this: while horror-stricken with the spread of revolutionary ideas, and the ascendency of the French arms in Europe, he was disgusted because Austria had not placed him in command of the armed force designed to combat them. No man in Europe had at that time a higher reputation for brilliant qualities and great services than he, but he had lost his influence at the Austrian Court on the death of Joseph II.

In the spring of 1808, Mr. Poinsett having recovered his health, went through Germany to Paris. Never was that city more brilliant than at this time, and nowhere could be found a greater number of men who had gained European renown by their services in the great Continental wars. One of the most distinguished of the soldiers of Napoleon was Massena (Prince of Essling), who previous to the French Revolution had been an instructor in fencing of Mr. Joseph Allen Smith, who had given Mr. Poinsett a letter of introduction to him. He seems to have been very kind to Mr. Poinsett, and presented him to Clausel, afterwards Marshal of France, and to many other distinguished French soldiers. Mr. Poinsett tells a curious story illustrating the relations of Massena with Napoleon. In a private interview between them a gun was suddenly heard to explode in the imperial cabinet. The attendants rushed in, and found Massena bathed in blood, while the Emperor explained that the gun had been discharged by accident. The rumor spread, however, that Napoleon, in a fit of passion, had tried to murder the Marshal. Mr. Poinsett paid a visit to Massena, who was confined to the house by his wound. He spoke of the rumor, and Massena told him it was well founded, that the

discharge of the gun was not accidental, adding, "The cursed little fool could not even shoot straight, or he would have killed me."

Mr. Poinsett was present (as he always seems to have been, with his extraordinary luck, on every important occasion) at the celebrated interview between Napoleon and Count Metternich, the Austrian Ambassador, at the Tuileries in 1808, when the French Emperor publicly threatened Austria that, if she continued to arm her subjects, he would crush her beyond the power of recovery, a threat which Napoleon supposed he had carried out when he dictated a second time peace in the Austrian capital and married an Austrian princess.

While Mr. Poinsett was residing in Paris there occurred the memorable incident of the attack in time of profound peace by the British war-ship "Leopard" upon the American frigate "Chesapeake," the "Leopard" firing a broadside into the "Chesapeake," and compelling her to surrender certain of her crew, who were claimed to be deserters from the English navy. Like most of his countrymen, Mr. Poinsett regarded war with England as the inevitable result of this deplorable outrage. He lost no time in hurrying home and offering his services to the government. He hoped to receive the appointment of quartermaster-general, that being the office for which he deemed himself best qualified. He failed, however, to secure the position, and indeed the immediate prospect of war was removed by the disavowal on the part of the English government of the act of the commander of the "Leopard" and the punishment of the admiral who had ordered it.

President Madison, who had been very much impressed with the capacity of Mr. Poinsett, then invited him to go to South America on a secret and confidential mission. The provinces of Buenos Ayres on the east and that of Chili on the west side of the Andes had risen in revolt against the Spanish government, and had established provisional Juntas, who were for the time being the *de facto* rulers of the country. Mr. Poinsett's instructions were to ascertain how firm a foun-

dation these new governments had, and if he found that their existence was likely to be permanent, he was to negotiate treaties of commerce with them. Mr. Poinsett was obliged to dissemble the object of his mission, as the English, who were numerous and powerful at Buenos Ayres, were very jealous of the interference of any other power seeking to share in the rich harvest which they hoped that they alone would gather when the Spanish restrictive colonial policy was abandoned. By skill and address, however, not unmingled with a certain amount of personal danger, Mr. Poinsett reached Buenos Ayres by way of Rio de Janeiro, and there, notwithstanding the violent opposition of the English merchants, he concluded a favorable commercial treaty with the revolutionary authorities.

To complete his mission it was necessary for him to cross the Andes and negotiate a treaty with the authorities of Chili. This province was then governed by the popular Junta, while Peru was still under the authority of the Spanish Viceroy. The two provinces were engaged in war with each other, so that until the war ended it was impossible to tell whether it would be practicable to conclude such a treaty as Mr. Poinsett was instructed to make. There seemed, indeed, little probability that hostilities would soon be brought to a close. Mr. Poinsett became irritated by the helpless inactivity which he was obliged to maintain. Fired by the example of Carera, the leader of the Chilian army, and yielding to his influence, he was induced by him to accept the command of a division of his army. He could, it is true, find nothing in his instructions as *Chargé d'Affaires* to justify such an act, but he never was idle or inactive when the interests of his country required him to confront personal danger, and he did not hesitate to take the responsibility. Shortly after he had assumed command, he learned, through an intercepted letter to the Viceroy of Peru, that the commandant at Talcahuano, on the bay of Concepcion, had seized eleven American whalers which had touched there for supplies, and that the crews of these vessels would be sent to Callao as prisoners as soon as a "set of irons could

be completed for the purpose of securing the men." He immediately put his army in motion for Talcahuano and completely surprised the Peruvian detachment in charge of the vessels. He then posted his artillery in a commanding position and demanded its unconditional surrender to the Junta of Chili. His demand was at once complied with, the Peruvian commander who "was completing the irons" was made prisoner and the vessels were released. It is not easy, of course, to describe the surprise and gratification of the American captains when they found that their liberator was one of their own countrymen, exercising his functions as *Chargé d'Affaires* in this novel and efficient way.

While Mr. Poinsett was in Chili he was a spectator of one of the most memorable combats in our naval history, and indeed almost one of the participants in it. Captain David Porter was in the neutral port of Callao with the "Essex," considering himself in such a place out of all danger of attack from two English vessels, the "Phebe" and the "Cherub," that lay close beside him. Captain Porter had made a most successful cruise in the "Essex," destroying almost wholly the English whaling fleet in the Pacific. He was about to sail for home with Mr. Poinsett as one of his passengers, trusting to the speed of his vessel to outstrip the two ships of his enemy. Unfortunately for him a gale occurred, which injured some of his rigging, just as he was off the port. He was about putting back for repairs when he was attacked by both English ships, and a battle ensued which, whether we consider the disparity of the forces engaged or the conspicuous gallantry with which the "Essex" was defended in a hopeless contest of more than three hours, is hardly paralleled in naval history. The battle was fought within the range of a fort on the Chilian shore, and Mr. Poinsett was sent to beg the commander to fire on the English, who were violating the neutrality of his country. But the fear of the consequences kept the Chilian officer quiet. The prisoners taken in the "Essex," including Captain Porter, were sent home by the English in a *cartel*, but permission for Mr. Poinsett to embark with them was positively refused, Cap-

tain Hilyar giving as a reason what, under the circumstances, was a high compliment to Mr. Poinsett, declaring "that he would not suffer the arch-enemy of England to return to America while the two countries were at war."

Mr. Poinsett, nothing daunted, however, recrossed the Andes while they were covered with snow, reached Buenos Ayres in safety, and passing down the Rio de la Plata in a Portuguese vessel, and running the British blockade of the river, was at last safely landed in the island of Madeira. He soon made his way to the United States, but he found that peace had then been made with England, so that there was no longer any hope of his distinguishing himself, as he had always longed to do, in the military service of his country.

On his return home he did not seek, as he well might have done, repose after all the exciting adventures through which he had passed. His active and enterprising spirit found a large field for the development of its energy in projects for improving the condition of his native State, by the construction of good roads and water-courses between its widely-separated parts. He was appointed Chairman of the Board of Public Works, made many suggestions in regard to the internal improvements of the State, and superintended the construction of at least one road which in its day was regarded as a model for a work of that kind,—the turnpike through Saluda Gap.

In 1821, Mr. Poinsett was elected a member of Congress from the Charleston district. He took a prominent part in many public measures of great importance, but his influence was perhaps strongest on the question of recognizing the new republics of South America, concerning which his opinion, based upon personal experience, was singularly potent. He opposed the project of sending a commissioner to Greece until that country was at least *de facto* independent, in a speech of great statesmanlike force, not because he was without sympathy for the sufferings which the Greeks endured at the hands of the Turks, but because he regarded the measure as one likely to serve as a precedent for involving us in the complications of European politics.

In the year 1822 the question of the recognition of the independence of Mexico by our Government became a practical one. From the year 1811, when the revolt of the Mexicans against the Spanish Crown began, a number of governments which, judging by their short duration, can be regarded only as revolutionary, had ruled that portion of the country from which the Spanish army had been driven. The insurgents who formed these governments had been at last subdued by the Spanish forces, but in the year 1821 a new and formidable movement took place to establish the independence of Mexico under Don Augustin Iturbide, who had been an officer in the royal army. In 1822, Iturbide, in the face of much opposition, was proclaimed Emperor, and the question for our Government was to determine whether, in view of all the revolutionary disturbances which had preceded his accession, he was so supported by public opinion that he would be able to establish a permanent government in Mexico and thus entitle him to a recognition on our part as the *de facto* ruler of the country. The President (Mr. Monroe) selected Mr. Poinsett for the delicate and responsible duty of ascertaining the true state of affairs. His mission to Mexico was secret and confidential, and he went there in 1822. He travelled through many districts of Mexico, mingled with all sorts and conditions of people and with men of every party. The result of his observations, so far as he thought proper to make it public, appeared in a book called "Notes on Mexico," which he published shortly after his return. It contained the best and indeed the only trustworthy account of Mexico which had appeared in the English language up to that time. His familiarity with the Spanish language and his long acquaintance with public men both in the Old World and the New, as well as his experience with people who "get up" revolutions in both hemispheres, gave to the judgment which he at last arrived at great weight. He came to the conclusion that Iturbide was not firmly seated on his throne, and therefore that it would not be wise for us to recognize him. He had hardly returned to this country when news reached

here that the Emperor had been deposed by a new revolution. It may be added that Iturbide was exiled, but that hoping again to regain power he returned to Mexico, and having been taken prisoner was at once shot. It is perhaps worthy of remark that to the Mexicans of the present day Iturbide, although he was shot as a traitor, is nevertheless a national hero. At present the highest places in the Mexican Valhalla are appropriated to those who although Spaniards were themselves in life conspicuous for their hostility to the injustice and cruelty of the Spanish domination. Thus in the new Paseo of the City of Mexico colossal statues commemorate four men whose title to fame rests in the eyes of the Mexicans on this basis. These statues are those of Columbus, victim of the ingratitude of Spain; Hidalgo, who headed the first outbreak against her authority; Morelos, who continued the revolution; and Iturbide, who although once a royal officer and in the end executed as a traitor to the republic is still a popular hero because he died an enemy to the Spaniards.

On the return of Mr. Poinsett from Mexico in 1823 he became a candidate for re-election to Congress. The excitement concerning the tariff was just beginning, and the measures which it would be proper for South Carolina to take in case the Government should not change its policy on this subject were being discussed, and it was proposed by some of his constituents that he should pledge himself before the election as to the course he would pursue as a member of Congress. To his honor be it said, and as an example to us in these days of political degeneracy, that he promptly and decidedly refused to make any such pledge or declaration. He told those who asked him to make such a promise that his past public career was the best pledge he could give for his future course, and his constituents were wise enough to re-elect him by a large majority.

In 1824, Mr. Poinsett was an ardent advocate of the election of General Jackson to the Presidency. As there was no choice by the people, the contest was transferred to the House of Representatives, when Mr. John Quincy Adams was chosen. On the day after Mr. Adams's inauguration

he offered the post of Minister Plenipotentiary to Mexico to Mr. Poinsett. Two things are to be specially noted in this offer,—first, the purity of the public service at that time, which permitted the appointment of a political opponent to one of the most important offices in the gift of the President; and, second, the high opinion entertained by Mr. Adams of Mr. Poinsett's qualifications, and certainly no one had had more abundant opportunities than he of testing his special gifts as a diplomatist, as he had been Secretary of State during Mr. Poinsett's former mission to Mexico.

Mr. Poinsett's course while he represented this country in Mexico has been much criticised, and certainly the distracted condition of the republic while he resided there was such that no active policy he could have pursued, never mind what, would have escaped the violent censure of some of the partisans who were struggling to secure power and office. When he reached Mexico he found the public mind in a highly-excited condition. Although the country was nominally a republic, he soon discovered that the real power was in the hands of the aristocracy, who, supported by the clergy and the army, strove to keep the ignorant populace under their despotic sway. One of the peculiarities of the Mexican revolt against Spain up to that period had been the maintenance of the privileges and the riches of the Roman Catholic clergy without any diminution whatever, for a fanatical devotion to their religion has always been a striking characteristic of the mass of the Mexicans. Many of the revolutionary disturbances were led by priests, and all of them were more or less under their control. Whatever else the revolutionists changed, or desired to change, the Church with its power and wealth was left unharmed and untouched like the Ark in the wilderness: it was to all sacred. The Church retained through all these convulsions property which is said to have amounted in 1857 (when it was confiscated) to the enormous sum of three hundred millions of dollars, and of course the clergy from their position and organization with these means at their disposal became the most powerful body in the country. By the

time Mr. Poinsett arrived in Mexico the higher clergy had become tired of the revolutions which were incessantly disturbing their peace and threatening their security. They had become conservative, and eagerly allied themselves with those who sought to establish a stable government. The other conservative class was the large landholders, proprietors of vast *haciendas*, sometimes many square miles in extent, where they lived in a semi-independent state, defying any government which they did not choose to recognize, and, in short, enjoying the influence and possessing substantially the power of feudal lords. Indeed, so rooted is this system of holding land in the habits and ideas of the people of Mexico that to this day it remains almost wholly unchanged. The Church has been despoiled of its riches and privileges until now it is the poorest Catholic Church in Christendom; the country for a number of years has been without serious revolutionary disturbances; modern civilization in our sense has penetrated beyond the frontier; and yet this system of dividing the country among a few owners of large *haciendas* continues unchanged, and the proprietors exercise almost as much authority and influence now as they did in the palmy days of the Spanish viceroyalty. These two conservative bodies acting together had the entire control of the army in the support of their pretensions, while the genuine republican party, as we should deem it, was made up of a few enlightened men, many adventurers, and the mass of the populace in the large towns.

Mr. Poinsett thus found the Church and the State banded together in possession of the power on the one side, and on the other the discontented but true republicans, watching every opportunity and willing to risk even a revolution (which, of course, in all Spanish-American countries is an event far less grave than it would be with us) in order to snatch that power from them.

On his arrival the leaders of the opposition crowded around him seeking information and advice. It was natural that they should have done so, for to whom would they be likely to turn more readily than to the representative of

that great republic which had successfully surmounted those obstacles which appeared so formidable to those who were trying to establish in Mexico a system similar to that which had been adopted here? Mr. Poinsett gave the information, but declined to give the advice, as inconsistent with his duties as Minister. He could not, of course, help feeling that they, and not the party in power, were the true republicans according to the standard which prevailed in any of the countries in which he had passed his life. He had probably, too, a certain sympathy with them, for, like every true American of that day, he ardently desired the spread of republicanism everywhere, and especially upon the Continent of America, but he never forgot that he was not accredited to them, and that his business in the country was with the established Government and not with the opposition. He did no act which compromised his position, still his sympathy no doubt encouraged the discontented, and certainly did not aid him in negotiating the treaty which he was sent to Mexico to make. His position became a very difficult and embarrassing one, and many of the Government party became very hostile to him.

Meanwhile, the disaffected became more and more clamorous, and at last, in consequence of the armed resistance of the Government to the installation of Guerrero, whom its opponents claimed to have elected President, they broke out into open rebellion. With this revolt is connected an episode in Mr. Poinsett's career as Minister in Mexico which, as illustrating his cool courage and his chivalric nature, as well as the *prestige* of the American name and flag in foreign countries, is well worth repeating, although it is doubtless familiar to many. The revolutionists had determined to attack the National Palace, which is at one end of the principal street (that of San Francisco), while the Alameda, the public park, bounds the other. Having seized the Alameda, the barracks, and the artillery, the mob advanced along this street towards the Palace. The houses on each side were filled with Government troops, and many of them were known to belong to families of Spaniards, or

of persons supposed to be friendly to the Government. These houses were regularly besieged by the insurgents, and many of them were taken and destroyed. Mr. Poinsett's house was in this street, and while the conflict was raging, Madame Yturrigaray, the widow of a former Spanish Viceroy, who was his neighbor, with some of her friends, all Spaniards, sought the refuge and protection of the American Embassy. The insurgents advanced to attack the house, which they do not seem to have known to be that of the American Minister, maddened by the story that was told them that its proprietor had sheltered the hated Spaniards. They attacked the gates which enclosed the court-yard and clamored for the blood of their enemies. A musket-ball which came through the window lodged in Mr. Poinsett's cloak. At this moment Mr. Poinsett, accompanied by his Secretary of Legation, Mr. John Mason, Jr., took the American flag, and, advancing with it in his hand to the balcony of his house, displayed it for the first time before the eyes of the thousands who were thirsting for his blood because he had baulked their vengeance. He told them who he was, and what nation that flag represented. Either because they recognized in that flag the emblem of the American power, or because some among them knew Mr. Poinsett as a diplomatist who had always been a friend of their leaders, they at once ceased their hostile attitude. The display of that flag by its courageous upholder in the streets of the City of Mexico changed at once the threatening temper of that wild mob, and soon after it dispersed.

Mr. Poinsett's affiliation with the Freemasons in Mexico proved a constant source of embarrassment to the success of his mission in that country. It seems that he had been long a member of the Masonic order here, and on his arrival in the City of Mexico he was welcomed as a visitor to the lodges with that cosmopolitan spirit of fraternity which is characteristic of the Masonic body everywhere. The Mexican Masons belonged to the "Scotch rite," while it seems that in the hierarchy of Masonry the "York rite" holds a higher rank. Mr. Poinsett explained this difference to his

associates, and told them, with that spirit of courtesy which never failed him, that if it was agreeable to them he would apply to the Masonic authorities in this country for a charter to establish lodges in Mexico who should work according to the "York rite." The charter was granted and the lodges duly organized under it. But, unfortunately, the persons elected as members of the new lodges were nearly all democrats, and opposed to the party in power. The old lodges and the new soon formed two political camps, and such was the bitterness and intensity of feeling at that time, that they were looked upon by public opinion rather as party organizations than as fraternal associations. Mr. Poinsett's well-meant efforts to extend the Masonic rule in Mexico was regarded by his enemies as an underhanded effort on his part to give aid and encouragement to the disaffected. When he found that he was being forced into the position of a partisan leader through his connection with this miserable squabble, he withdrew himself from all communication with both bodies. But the mischief was done, and his influence with the Government from that time was very much lessened.

Mr. Poinsett negotiated a boundary treaty with the Mexican Government and also a treaty of commerce, which was not ratified because it contained a stipulation "that all persons bound to labor taking refuge in Mexico should be given up to their legal claimants." This is a noteworthy event in the history of republicanism on this continent, for it shows that the Mexicans even at that early date were at least so far advanced in their political education that they were unwilling to enact a fugitive-slave law even to oblige the United States. It should be added, however, in order to show how little public opinion at that time in other parts of the world supported the pretension "that a slave could not exist on Mexican soil," that Mr. Ward, the British Minister, concluded about the same time with the Mexican Government a treaty of commerce similar to ours, omitting the stipulation in regard to fugitive slaves. When this treaty was submitted to Mr. Canning, then the English

Foreign Secretary, he sent it back to Mexico, refusing to ratify it until the Mexicans would agree to surrender not only fugitive slaves but also apprentices from the West Indies and deserters from the English army and navy.

The annoyances and vexations which Mr. Poinsett suffered in Mexico did not make him unmindful of the interest felt by people here in the wonderful curiosities, natural and archæological, to be found in that country. He learned how to propagate olive-trees, and sent many cuttings to be planted in his own garden in South Carolina. He introduced into this country that well-known and truly splendid flower now called *Poinsettia*, of the order of *Euphorbiaceæ*. He sent to the American Philosophical Society in Philadelphia the original manuscript and the drawings from which Captain du Paix had copied the materials for his magnificent work on the antiquities of Mexico, published in Paris in 1834. For a long time the ruins depicted in this work were regarded by the learned as antediluvian, an opinion which, by the way, has since been wholly disproved by Mr. John L. Stephens and other observers.

(To be continued.)

NARRATIVE OF JOHN HECKEWELDER'S JOURNEY TO THE WABASH IN 1792.

(Concluded from page 54.)

On the 27th our hunters shot two bears and a deer, and on the 28th a fat buffalo cow, which weighed 436 lbs.

On the 30th we saw almost continually, herds of buffaloes grazing on the shores. Interpreter Wells shot a cow and calf weighing 134 lbs., the meat of which was found to be very juicy. We had now reached a country where no more hills are to be seen, but everything is flat and level, and the Carolina reed grows as thick as hemp.

Early on the 31st as we were passing on one side of a long narrow island in our barges and canoes, two herds of buffaloes, frightened by the boats passing on the other side, rushed directly before us into the water. We did not feel disposed to shoot, as we had enough to do, to keep out of their way, for when they are in flight, they do not see what is before them, but run down everything in their course. In the evening we passed Green River, at the mouth of which lies an island six miles long.

On Sept 1st, at 6 o'clock in the morning, we stopped at Red Bank in Kentucky, a settlement of 30 families. This place which lies 20 miles below Green river, is almost entirely settled by Jerseymen. A certain Michael Sprenkel, from near Yorktown, inquired about various Brethren of that place. Another, Friedrich Bettger, said that he had attended the Brethren's school there. A Dane inquired about his countryman Just Jans in Bethlehem. On this spot, which lies very high and has a rich, sandy soil, I saw the largest and best grown sassafras trees. Some weather-boarded log huts were built entirely of this wood. The inhabitants of this place are all good huntsmen and last year shot great numbers of deer and caught many beavers.

We sailed 8 miles farther today, and camped near a very beautiful island.

On Sunday Sept 2d, we caught up with some people from Louisville; they had four buffaloes in their boats. The commissary who was with us, bought the meat for 2*d* per ℔ and we received our share of it. We passed the nine mile island and encamped at night under a high bank about a mile below the mouth of the Wabash.

On the 3d quite early, we discovered through our spy-glass some white people on the island, which lies at the mouth of the Wabash. We afterwards found that the troops sent by Major Hamtramck as our guards and support, from Post Vincent, had arrived. When we joined them the necessary preparations for our farther progress were begun. The Kentucky boats, which, because the journey ascends the Wabash, could not be used at all for the purpose, were destroyed and a fortification built on the point of land in which the provisions that had been brought along might be stored and guarded by 25 men, until they could be gradually removed. After this had been done, the six large *Peroges* which had been brought down by the French inhabitants from Vincent were loaded. Gen. Putnam, who was specially pleased with this neighborhood and particularly with the beautiful Wabash river, here hardly smaller than the Ohio, noticed how proudly it empties into the Ohio. In the mean time he had a sumptuous meal prepared and a table and benches of boards put up, where he, the three officers, Peters, Prior and Armstrong, the commissary Mr Poor, Mr Vanderburgh and I dined together. The meal was good and consisted of buffalo, bear, deer and pork, a turkey[1] two ducks, pike and turtlesoup, besides various vegeta-

[1] Our tame European turkeys are descended from this wild species, which in the latter part of the 16th century had become known in Germany. They are found in large numbers in the less inhabited regions, west of the middle free states. Schöpf saw them during his journey in great numbers running around in the woods, hiding in the bushes or sitting on the limbs of trees. They distinguish themselves from the tame ones, by their uniformity of colors, being black, brown, and muddy white spotted, they weigh 28–30 ℔s.

bles. The noise of the many paroquets (a small kind of parrot) was dreadful and not attuned to my ears. I remembered at this place, that I was 1300 miles from Bethlehem and must go farther still. At last in the afternoon of the 4th we started up the Wabash. The Indians, who were now on their own land and soil, became quite cheerful. We had progressed about 8 miles this evening when we put up our quarters for the night. On the 5th all moved on smoothly, the water and country were pleasant, but on the 6th, I felt unwell, and thought, if I could land and were able to perspire I should feel better. After I had made a trial however for several hours, I could go no farther and was obliged to lie down on the shore, until a boat came and took me on board. I also had an attack of high fever this evening which the following four days prostrated me so completely, that during that time I knew little of myself. Lieut. Prior, who had studied medicine and was the doctor of the Ohio company, recognized my sickness as a bilious attack and gave me the necessary medicine. I improved so much that I could sit up a little during the day; yet there was still a lingering fever, and the heavy perspiration that I had at night, with unusually severe headaches exhausted me so much, that I merely existed but without strength or courage. I was in this condition when we arrived on the afternoon of the 12th at Post Vincennes.[1] Mr Vanderburgh took me out of the boat immediately to his house, where I was nursed in the best manner. But I did not however recover entirely until the following month, after having proceeded several days journey from this place. In the mean time the Indians, who had been invited hither for the treaty of peace, had in part arrived and when they saw their friends who had been prisoners, they fired off their guns for joy and sang various songs to these friends. These prisoners, after a speech by Gen. Putnam were turned over to their friends, at which they all rejoiced.

[1] The author of this diary always calls this extreme western post of the Free States on the Wabash River, Vincennes, but as it is called St. Vincent in Schoepf's letters, on Imlay's map, and in other writings about the American republic, I have generally retained the latter name.

From now until the 22d Indians arrived almost daily in order to conclude a treaty of peace. On account of their continual drinking, Gen. Putnam found it necessary to issue a proclamation in which he forbade the citizens in the most peremptory manner to give or sell any liquor to the Indians during the negociations for the treaty of peace.

On the 19th, 110 head of cattle arrived. They were driven here from Kentucky for the use of the garrison, the inhabitants and the rest of the people at present here. Capt Doyle from Fort Steuben escorted them with 30 men.

On the 20th both on account of my health and in order to see the surrounding country, I rode out with several gentlemen.

Post Vincennes or Saint Vincent was started already in the year 1725, by a French Lieutenant of that name. The site on which this city is built deserves to have been in the hands of a more sensible architect. Two lots each containing about a third of an acre, form a separate square, so that the owner can look from his windows into three streets. He introduced some laws that are not less foolish, one of them is that the inhabitants must keep their cattle fenced in and that in a common field, the other fields outside of the same, shall lie open, which at the present day is still regarded as a law, although it vexes the majority of American inhabitants. The latter are working hard to have that law repealed, they have already sent a petition to Congress to that effect. The town has grown very much since 1743. It received most of its inhabitants from Canada, and in the year 1770, three hundred houses had already been built and they numbered more than 1500 inhabitants. But as they were principally engaged in the fur trade they paid little attention to agriculture and lived very much after the manner of Indians. They had a church and a priest, but they preferred the billiard table to his masses. Finally they no longer paid the priest a salary, for which reason he left, and moved to the Mississippi. Thither all those who still have some religious feeling, go annually or once in several years, in order to partake of the holy communion. Thus this priest draws

the sinners so far from home. They consider it nothing at all to make a journey by water of 300 miles and back again, because on this journey they can procure fish and meat in abundance. Since the United States is in power here, which is since 1783, when Gen. Clark captured the place and took the Vice-Governor of Upper Canada and other officers prisoner, things have changed. However since the peace between England and the United States a large number has removed here from the Southern States and a still greater change has taken place. An Indian village of the Wawiachtenos Nation was near the French town and they together lived some fifty years in friendship and peace.

Now the troubles began, there being continual murders by one or the other party, and at last the Indians grew tired of it, broke up their settlement, and moved five miles distant. Their head chiefs were indefatigable in their endeavors to restore peace and goodwill, until a Kentucky scamp, by the name of Hardin clandestinely gathered about 150 men in Kentucky and unexpectedly fell upon and murdered all these peaceable Indians, who at that time lived within a mile of Post Vincennes. The commanding officer Major Hamtramck in due time received notice of the plans of these villains and immediately sent a messenger who represented their cruelty to them. He received as answer, that if he attempted the least movement, he would share the same fate. At the news of this occurrence many hundred Indian warriors assembled in the year 1791 and required the French inhabitants to surrender to them, all Virginians (thus they designated all who belonged to the United States) in order to avenge themselves. The French sought to pacify them and at last a compromise was made, they collected and gave them a present and the Indians desisted from their purpose. The embitterment however has not yet been quieted and the Indians declare, that where ever the Virginians go, they cause trouble in some way. Trade, which is, as was mentioned, the Frenchman's true occupation, was now completely destroyed. The Indians had lost all confidence and very seldom came to St. Vincent but went to the British or Spaniards.

The French were not accustomed to work and could not be taught how. When from necessity they had a desire to plant corn, there were few or none to continue with the care of it. The American government has been obliged to help their needs for two years with contributions. Men can grow so careless that in the midst of a fruitful country, abundant in provisions, they may yet be in a famishing condition. The Americans at this place numbering thirty families, live very well. Their fields are richly covered, their gardens are in the best of order and they dress in cotton and linen, both of which they raise. On the contrary there is hardly one among the French, who can dress himself decently, but whoever knows the Indian dress, knows theirs also. Their gardens are in the same condition, instead of vegetables, nothing but weeds and if they did not enclose them with fences on account of the fine large appletrees, one might ask, why they enclose them at all. The cattle is almost starving and all around lie fine meadows on which they could annually make hundreds of tons of hay. In short whoever starves here, cannot support himself anywhere and is a man who scarcely deserves to live. Before I cease to mention this place, I must add that of all that I have yet seen, it is the finest and most distinguished. The entire country is level, the soil is black sand, the Wabash as clear as the Monocasy, full of fish, and navigable for 600 miles from the mouth. About 1¼ mile from the city there are several round hills called Sugar-loaves. From them the city and fortress (Fort Knox) present a very pretty aspect. Near them is a little village, to the West, where the real farmers among the French live. The buildings of the French are all one story and instead of placing the smooth planks flat, they are put upright against the frames upon which they nail them. Of collar beams they know nothing, but instead put on massive rafters. Their chimneys are generally of wood and mortar. Stone buildings are very expensive, as not a single stone can be found on this land. Wages are high and every thing very dear. There is another little settlement five miles south from here, on a little river,

called Desha, entirely made up of people from the United States. It may be said of the meadows of this country that some of them are several days journey in length, buffaloes in great herds graze upon them and they are hunted in the autumn by the Indians.

Sunday Sept. 23d the Indians begged to begin the treaty negociations as they wished to start on their fall hunt. They were told that tomorrow a beginning would be made and that every day at 10 o'clock a cannon was to be fired off as a signal. Thus it came about that the peace meeting was opened by a speech from Gen. Putnam. He assured the assembled nations, namely: the Eel-Creek Wawiachtenos below on the Wabash; the Piankishaws between the Wabash and Illinois; the Potawattamos from Lake Michigan and St Joseph; the Kikapus from Kahokia; the Kaskaskias and Muquetons from Kaskaskias, that the United States desired to live at peace with all the Indians and to that end an opportunity was given them to discuss with the United States all that had happened, to clear away all difficulties and to begin a new treaty. The answer was postponed until the following day.

On the 25th by a unanimous vote the entire nations through a speaker, expressed their intentions and answer. A large pipe of peace was handed to Gen. Putnam with a fine broad belt of Wampum, accompanied by the desire that he would accept this as a sign of peace and present both to Gen. Washington, so that he too might smoke this pipe. Afterwards the chiefs of these nations rose and spoke in succession after offering their belts of wampum. The sum and substance of their discourse was, that the whites should not take away their land, but should remain on the other side of the Ohio and accept this river as the frontier line. However as there was some obscurity in their mode of expression they were earnestly begged on the 26th by Gen. Putnam to explain themselves more clearly which they did in the afternoon meeting. They expressed the wish that they and the whites might never live in too close proximity, because among both whites and Indians very bad people

were to be found. They wished and begged to trade with us, and requested that Congress might not take away the land from the French who lived here, as their fathers had given it to them in former times.

On the 27th the articles of peace were read to the assembled nations and after they were signed by thirty-one chiefs, peace was declared by the general in a speech, and the seven necessary belts of wampum were handed to the most prominent chiefs. At the conclusion the cannon was fired eight times. The first time by the General himself and afterwards by the chiefs who had received the belts. They also received four large oxen, bread and brandy in order to hold a festival. This festival, before its conclusion cost two of them their lives, they were knocked down in their drunken brawls.

On the 28th Gen. Putnam, who for a week had not been feeling well, was obliged to take to his bed. He was taken with the same bilious fever that I had contracted on the way and on the following days he was so sick, that we doubted his rallying again. There were many sick with this fever, several of whom died.

On the 29th all the Indians rejoicing in the treaty of peace which had just been concluded, held a dance in the City Hall. Each nation was differently painted and all vied with each other to appear as hideous as possible. They first passed through all the streets of the city with drums and singing and then marched into the City Hall where they sang and related of all their warlike achievements. The figures and motions made at this dance, the disfigured and dreadful faces, the war implements in their hands which they brandished, the dry deer claws that rattled around their legs, the green garlands around their necks, their bodies without clothes, except a few miserable rags, presented an aspect, which I am unable to describe. But everything was carried on quite properly according to their ideas.

On the 30th we began to divide the presents among them and continued doing so during the following days.

On October the 4th Gen. Putnam's sickness came to a

crisis and we hoped that he would soon recover, as he had agreed to go to Philadelphia with several chiefs. He wished that they might set out on their journey and that I should accompany them to Marietta and remain there until his arrival. Another company of these illustrious savages was dispatched with addresses to the hostile Indians, they were to be accompanied by the interpreter Wells.

On the afternoon of the 5th the chiefs, sixteen in number, besides a squaw, started on their journey to Philadelphia. In their company was Lieut. Prior as leader, two Kentucky guides or scouts and two soldiers and myself, forming together a party of 23 souls. As we passed Fort Knox seven cannon shots were fired. The journey was overland to the falls of the Ohio. We encamped this evening 5 miles from the place.

On the 6th we travelled all day through a fine rich level country and the pleasant odor of quantities of ripe persimmons made the day very agreeable. Towards evening we crossed the beautiful White river, which is as wide as the Lehigh at Bethlehem. It is a branch of the Wabash and empties about 14 miles below Post Vincennes into the Wabash. Our Kentucky hunters had today shot five wild turkeys.

On the 7th we still traveled along the eastern branch of the White river at least 12 miles down, but then our way led us into the wilderness where we could with difficulty pass through the grape vines and bushes. Our guide had today shot a very large old buffalo estimated as weighing 800lb.

On the 8th we marched all day through a wilderness and over steep, disagreeable mountains. We encamped along a stream, but it was almost dried up.

On the 9th we reached the socalled Buffalo Salt Lick where it is said 500 buffaloes may sometimes be seen at one time, especially during the months of June, July and August. The salt spot, several acres in size, is so much trodden down and grubbed up, that not a blade of grass can grow and the entire woods are for miles around quite bare. Many heads and skeletons of these animals are to be found which were either shot from time to time, or had died there. From

here a great many buffalo trails lead out, and we had the misfortune to take such an one instead of the right one, our guides not being with us, but when they came back again, they led us in to the right path and preceded, in order to hunt.

After we had now marched about five miles, a herd of buffaloes came directly towards us as if they intended running us down. We fired into them, killed one, wounded another and took the meat of the former. In the evening we came to a slough where we spent the night and where several Indians made such gluttons of themselves, that they were taken sick and the next day we were obliged to carry their bundles on our horses.

On the 11th suddenly in the night we were overtaken by a thunderstorm. We had neither huts nor covering and the night was pitch dark. The rain fell in torrents, we were drenched to the skin, and under us flowed streams. We were only 18 miles from Fort Steuben, but in a neighborhood through which the Miami warriors frequently pass on their way to Kentucky and are also frequently pursued by those from there. We had cause for anxiety, viz., that if the warriors had recently committed ravages in Kentucky and they were pursued, our Indians would have to pay the penalty. For this reason Mr. Prior spoke with them and the guides, and commanded a forced march. We had scarcely proceeded half a mile when a similar thundergust overtook us; it continued so long, that at 1 o'clock at night, when we arrived at Clarkville and I stepped down from my horse, the water oozed out at the tops of my boots, although I wore two great coats, one over the other and I tried to protect myself as well as possible. Here I saw the well known Indian murderers, David Oven and Robbin George, now Capt. George, who had once stolen some of our horses on the Muskingum. From here we were three miles from Fort Steuben, a distance we were obliged to travel in the pouring rain. As soon as we arrived there, the Indians said: Give us enough brandy or we will be sick. Their guide gave them more than enough for all became intoxicated and remained in this condition

during the following day. This life was unendurable to me and as I knew Capt. Doyle's opinion on the subject I addressed Prior seriously and represented to him, how he would lose his Indians by death one after the other, if he continued to go to work in this way. At first he showed some displeasure at my reprimand and wanted to know, whether I had anything to say about his Indians and whether I had permission to lay down rules for him. I answered him: that these Indians had been called by Congress for their own good and the welfare of the land and since they had appointed him leader, it would not be more than right and proper that he should show himself a capable man, as he now had an opportunity to reap honor or disgrace to aid in the cause of usefulness or harm. He acknowledged this, but the next day he continued to act in a similar manner and so I had to address him more seriously. I told him positively that if he continued thus, I would not travel another step with him and would complain of him at the proper place. Now he was frightened, begged my pardon, with the promise that in every particular he would follow my advice. This promise he kept during the rest of the entire journey. I spent the remainder of my time with my good friend Capt. Doyle and visited the French gentleman Mr Lakesang at Louisville. In the garrison almost everybody was sick of the fever, which generally shows itself here in the fall.

On the 16th the canoes, on which we were to travel from here to Fort Washington, were brought up over the falls and repaired. In the mean time Kentucky gentlemen visited us. The venerable Mr Sebastian, a lawyer in Kentucky, who wished to go to Cincinnati with us, also appeared. At last, on the 17th, we continued on our journey. The cannon of the fort announced our departure and the Indians in a speech thanked Capt. Doyle for his kind demeanor towards them. In starting we had great trouble as there was not room enough in the canoes and no more were to be had. The Indian chiefs considered themselves as the great and wise of their nation and believed they had

nothing more to do than to sit in their boats, eat, drink and smoke tobacco. The fifteen soldiers accompanying us, were to act as guards and row the boats. We moved along in this way for a few hours in continual danger of drowning, because the canoes drew water. Prior did not know what to do, the soldiers swore at the Indians and they spoke of returning. Now, I said to Prior, there shall be an end to the trouble, if you will obey me, and as he willingly promised me this, I advised as follows: He, I and the three interpreters should continue our journey on land and each carry a gun; the oarsmen were commanded not to near the shore. This was done and Mr Sebastian, who perceived what we were driving at, also landed with us. Hardly had we gone half a mile when a wild cat came within range, we shot at her but missed her, and in a bay farther up, we shot four turkeys and wounded a young bear. The Indians who saw this, requested them to steer the canoes to land, but as they perceived that this would not be done, seven jumped out of the canoes into the water and waded to land, took our guns and said, that hunting was their business and they would attend to it, we should only stay in the canoes. Our object was thus accomplished and we had a safe journey.

On the 18th the Indians, who were on land, shot five bears and several turkeys. At the 18 mile island we met the Kentucky hunters; they had two large canoes with buffaloes, bears and venison. They advised us not to leave our Indians alone on shore, because just at present there were many Kentucky hunters in the woods who could harm them. It was resolved that in future one or two interpreters should march with them and they all agreed to do it.

On the 19th five fat bears and a deer were shot. Early on the 20th we crossed the Kentucky river. Today again two bears and some turkeys were shot. On Sunday 21st a herd of buffaloes were seen and one of them was shot. In the evening we camped at Big Bone Lick creek, where large bones and teeth are found.

Several times on the 22d we met people who were going to this Lick where a large salt manufactory has been built.

Late at night we arrived at Tanner's station. This Tanner, a Baptist minister had fortified himself on his own beautiful, rich tract of land and has a non-commissioned officer stationed there in command as guard.

Early on the 22d we crossed the great Miami and rested today with Judge Symmes' at North Bend. We might have reached Cincinnati, but the inhabitants of this place had given the Indians so much brandy, that they could scarcely stand. In consequence we only arrived there on the 24th at 1 P.M. and the Indians were saluted by fifteen cannon shots from Fort Washington.

On the 26th Gen. Wilkinson arrived with four officers as prisoners, under a guard of more than 100 men of the Kentucky militia, from Fort Hamilton. In the evening the hanging of a murderer took place. He had with another man, in a fit of drunkenness, vowed to murder the first man they should meet. A few minutes afterwards they were caught in the act, imprisoned and at last tried; one of them was acquitted and the other condemned to death. The saddest part was, that this young man could in no manner be brought to reflection. Under the gallows however he ascribed his misfortune to the fact, that he had always associated with evil companions and warned the rest of his comrades.

On the 27th Col. Winthrop, secretary of the Western Territory gave the Indians a dinner to which he invited Gen. Wilkinson, other gentlemen and myself. He gave the Indians good advice and instructions as to how they were to conduct themselves on their entire journey and in Philadelphia and begged them for their own interests to stop drinking, etc.

On the following Sunday 28th Gen. Wilkinson gave the same advice at the Fort. At this meal the healths of President Washington, Gen. Knox, Putnam, etc. and of each of the chiefs present was drank, and as each was named, a salute was fired. During the meal an Indian arose and in the name of all present addressed Gen. Wilkinson about the preparations for war which he noticed here and especially about the many pack horses and soldiers that he had

during these days continually seen taking the road to where their wives and children were. This had suggested the question to his mind, whether they would not suffer harm during their absence, etc.? Now Gen. Wilkinson arose and gave the assurance in a very pleasant speech, that the friends left behind in their absence, should suffer no harm. Nevertheless, he told them quite plainly that the United States still had many enemies, that he was a soldier and served the States and must obey them; that his first thought and actions were to follow up the enemies of the United States until they acknowledged their wrong and would agree to peace. He said further: "My coppercolored Brethren from the Wabash, see how we are seated at this large table, there is no difference between us and you! You have lately made peace with us and today already you sit among us and eat with us from one dish, etc." The Indians arose shook hands with Gen. Wilkinson, and all the officers and gentlemen present, (there were about 30 of them.) Each nation thanked separately for the fine explanation and for the dinner, they now remained perfectly quiet. I must only add, that Gen. Wilkinson had arranged the guests so, that they and the Indians sat mixed and the cordiality during the dinner was very great on both sides.

On the night of the 30th a Wawiachtenos prince died, he suffered from pleurisy ever since his arrival here. At his funeral on the 31st at which all the officers and gentlemen of the city were present, they fired three times over his grave and every time they were answered by a cannonshot from the fort. After the coffin had been lowered, the Indians present, according to their custom, all threw a handful of ground on the coffin, those standing around followed their example. They put into this coffin the gun of the deceased, his tomahawk, powderhorn and balls, tobacco and pipe, several pairs of shoes and leather wherewith to mend them, a tin flask, knives and such like provisions and a bottle of brandy to be used on the journey in a new country. A long pole, stripped of its bark was put up at the head of the grave and a white flag suspended from it.

On November 1st in the evening we started in a very large boat and two good sized canoes. Three cannonshots were fired and about 9 o'clock we arrived at Columbia. Prior, who had been advanced to the rank of captain, and I stayed at Major Stites's and were invited next day to Major Gunn's to breakfast.

On the 3d we met two canoes for Fort Washington, loaded with buffalo-, deer- and bear-meat. We made about 30 miles today and spent the night on the Kentucky side, near a settlement, where we were visited by various people until midnight. All day Sunday the 4th we passed new houses on the Kentucky side. The citizens of the new city of Charlestown were particularly friendly to us; but the inhabitants of the city of Limestone manifested a very unfriendly spirit. It seemed in truth as if the Indians, and perhaps we, their companions, would also here find our graves. Several hundred men had assembled on the riverbank, of whom one-third were on horseback uttered many threats. Just at this juncture 16 Kentucky boats passed. They had 400 soldiers on board, who cursed us vehemently. Fortunately for us, Major Rudolph,[1] commander of the light cavalry was on the shore and tried to pacify the people, and advised Prior, to proceed as soon as possible. This we did and pushed on until late at night. As we did not know what might happen and whether they would not pursue and attack us during the night, Prior chose a suitable position for encamping on the north side of the Ohio. He also sent out good pickets, giving them orders how to act in any emergency.

The Indians perceiving the state of affairs slept little, but everything passed off successfully, and we could on the 5th continue on our journey unhindered. We made good progress and by evening reached the settlement of the Virginian Colonel Graham. We were much pleased to meet so

[1] [Michael Rudolph, a captain in the Maryland line in Revolution; Captain First Infantry, 1790; Major of Cavalry, 5th March, 1792; Adjutant and Inspector of the Army, February, 1793; Resigned 17th July, 1793.]

courageous and kind a gentleman, whose people, about 30 in number, all imitate their master's example. All were kind to us, and gave our Indians various presents. This gentleman with whom Prior and I took supper owns an unusually fine tract of land, six miles square.

On the 6th we again encamped on Kentucky soil. On the 7th at 11 o'clock in the morning we arrived at the Sciota where we landed and looked at the country. The tall Lombardy poplars on the shore present a beautiful aspect as if planted there. Our Indians could find no traces of hostile warriors in the neighborhood. We continued our journey until evening and encamped opposite Tiger creek. Here we soon discovered a raft hidden in the bushes. According to reports three or four warriors had gone with it, day before yesterday to the settlements in order to do harm there.

On the 9th at noon we crossed the Big Sandy, which forms the boundary between Kentucky and Virginia and spent the night below Guyandot. Early on the 17th we met hunters from Kanawa. At 1 P.M. we arrived in a drenching rain at Gallipolis. I felt great pity for the poor people there, on account of their unfortunate situation. The matter is stated in a few words: A certain gentleman in New York (Duer) who with other gentlemen wished to buy the land on the Sciota from Congress, sent an agent to France in order to see whether a number of people could be found disposed to settle there or to buy some of the land. For this purpose a pamphlet was published, in which the land was described, exceeding above its value. The pamphlet was distributed among the people and the land offered for sale. Settlers now came in swarms and bought the land for the price of 20 shillings per acre and gave notes for the balance which they still owed. Thus many hundreds came to settle on their purchased land. In the meantime Duer's contract was not signed and his agent disappeared with the money. Duer counted on the land which he had in the Ohio company and sent these people there. After they had settled, he, Duer failed and the Ohio company to whom he owed great sums, seized his interest in the land and thus the

end of the matter was, that the people were swindled. The Ohio company had indeed told, or informed them, that if they would turn to them, they would perhaps under certain circumstances allow them to remain. They however are no longer willing to be led around by the nose by any company and will appeal direct to Congress.

On the evening of the 12th we reached Point Pleasant and spent the night with Col. Lewis who was very kind in his attentions. We at last left the Kanawa on the 13th and camped about 8 miles above this place on the Virginia shore.

On the 15th and 16th, we met many boats with families bound for Kentucky; Post Vincent, or New Madrid.

We reached Marietta on Sunday the 18th at noon, in a pouring rain. The Indians were lodged in an unoccupied dwelling and Prior and I were taken to MacIntosh's tavern.

The savages were invited to a dinner by the inhabitants of Campus-Martius on the 20th. Capt. Haskell and the Commander here accompanied them with the music of fifes and drums. As they entered the gates, they were welcomed by a salute of three cannon-shots, thereupon they were presented to Gen. Putnam's family and then conducted to a table. Here they found a well-prepared meal, which they enjoyed with some of the most prominent inhabitants of the place. The Indians were very profuse in their compliments to the minister who sat at the head of the table and asked a blessing. They begged him to entreat God to preserve them from the smallpox. They entertain great fear of this disease. At the close of the meal, the Indians thanked for what they had enjoyed, and expressed the wish that the table might always look as it had done on this day, in other words, that they might never know want. They said God gives man his food, or he would have nothing. They urged the brandy distiller to come to their country, promising him plenty of customers. At last they prepared for departure and returned to the promontory. I took leave of my traveling companions on the 21st; I should have preferred continuing with them, but, according to the

agreement made with Gen. Putnam, I was obliged to remain here and wait for him. The party felt very kindly disposed towards me and was loath to understand why I could not proceed with them. They said they would weep for me for days, until I promised shortly to overtake them. Capt. Harscall gave them another meal before leaving. After having enjoyed it and expressed their gratitude for the same, they entered their boats. In pushing off they were saluted by two cannon-shots, to which they responded with their guns. They said before leaving: Now one shot more for our friend Wapanachky; by this name they designated me.

On the 26th the Ohio which had risen 15 ft began to fall and as many boats had waited for this, they continued their journey.

On the 28th we heard that Capt. Prior, with the Indians had been seen 40 miles from here, and on account of the high water was delayed for several days.

Sunday December 2d the flight of wild pigeons was indescribable, the low-lands were entirely covered with them. The inhabitants, with few exceptions forgot that it was Sunday and went out to shoot pigeons.

On the 3d we heard that Capt. Prior had arrived safely at Pittsburgh with his companions, and was kindly received.

On the 6th a canoe arrived from Fort Washington, but of Gen. Putnam the people knew nothing. This caused us great anxiety.

On the 8th the Ohio again rose and many boats passed. At last, on the 18th, Gen. Putnam arrived to our great joy. He had had a second attack of sickness on the Ohio, for which reason he was obliged to remain quiet at the falls.

On the 23d we learned from a newspaper that the hostile Indians had also at last decided to make peace. During the Christmas holidays there was no divine service here, and I must say that I felt quite angry at these lukewarm hickory Christians.

On the 1st of January, 1793, there was shooting in every nook and corner. Oh! how often I wished myself in Bethlehem at this time.

On the 6th various large boats came from Pittsburgh in order to load corn for Fort Washington, and on the 8th several others arrived. After they had their cargo, they all set out together for their destination. The ice which frequently drifted out of the Alleghany blockaded them about 40 miles below this place and destroyed five boats in which there were 1500 bushels of corn. The loss to the owners was £75 for the boats and £362, 10 sh for corn, making a total £437, 10 sh.

On the 12th at last the long desired day of our departure came. There were two gentlemen in our company, Messrs. Rome and van der Benden, they were the deputies with a protest from the inhabitants of Gallipolis to Congress.

On the 16th we passed Wheeling and arrived at night at Charlestown. We sent for our horses which in spring had been left with a farmer in the neighborhood. Major Mac Mahon had just arrived on a visit to his family and because he had lately been in our ruined towns on the Muskingum, and well knew that I would like to hear something about them, he gave me the following account. He said that last fall he had eaten the largest and best apples in Gnadenhuetten, the peachtrees in the three places, had yielded most abundantly, but that the bears had attacked them, and had broken down most of the limbs. According to his account it was almost impossible to recognize Gnadenhuetten and its surroundings, as the whole town plot and cultivated land in the vicinity is thickly overgrown with tall Honey and Locust-trees. The fine large plains are also covered with high Oaks, that are thickly intertwined, a positive proof that these open plains are the result of forest fires. On his last scouting expedition he had found an encampment of four Indians near Goeckhoesing up the Wahlhanding. He attacked them, killed two of them, and one who looked specially fine and light colored he wounded. The Indian began to scream loudly threw himself with the other one of the four, who was not wounded, over the high bank into this river, the Wahlhanding, and swam across to the other shore.

On the 17th we spent the night at Charles Wells', a mem-

ber of the Legislature of Virginia. The boundary line between Virginia and Pennsylvania passes this man's house.

On the 18th we slept near Canonsburgh, in Washington county, where there is an academy for young men, and on the evening of the 19th we arrived in Pittsburgh. Here on the following day, I visited several friends and acquaintances, among them Mr James Henry, son of the departed Brother William Henry, from Lancaster. The former works here at the watchmaking trade. Because he feels kindly disposed towards the Brethren; I had much pleasure in seeing him.

On the 21st we left Pittsburgh and spent the night at the Turtle, where a certain Capt. Mac Intin arrived. When he became acquainted with me he related much about the Brethren's Garden in the East Indies, where he had been in the year 1786. He seems to have become quite intimate with some of the Brethren there, had received various presents from them and given them some in return. He also knew that in the Nicobar island matter nothing had yet been done. He said that the Brethren's Garden had last year yielded revenue of more than 200 Guineas, etc.

On the 27th we reached Carlisle, where I again visited acquaintances and especially Mr Alexander who, if he has time, is to survey our land on the Muskingum.

On the 29th I bade farewell to Gen. Putnam and by way of Lititz proceeded on to Bethlehem, where I arrived on the 31st.

CHARLES BROCKDEN.

BY JOHN CLEMENT.

There is something especially attractive to the antiquarian in studying the movements of the emigrant settlers of a new and unexplored country; to know and understand the reasons that induced them to make their homes in certain places and pass by others that appear much more eligible and attractive. Occasionally these inquiries may have a solution, but the causes are past finding out when a new-comer sought a habitation in the depths of the forest, miles away from other settlers, and where no apparent attraction could exist. To be understood in part, even, some knowledge of the Indian trails and ancient highways in South Jersey must be had to know how the people passed from one point to another, where water-carriage was not practical. At this day these old paths are almost entirely abandoned, and in many places lost sight of. Among these was the "Old Cape Road," going from Philadelphia to Cape May by way of Tuckahoe, which passed north of Mount Ephraim, near Chew's Landing, Blackwood, and Williamstown, and between the heads of the streams to Tuckahoe and thence to Cape May.

On the line of this then obscure and little-used thoroughfare Charles Brockden made himself a country-seat about one hundred and fifty years since. He located 1200 acres of land in Gloucester County in 1737, where Williamstown stands, and long before this now thrifty village bore the name of "Squankum,"—which name it was a mistake to modernize and change. Here he erected a handsome dwelling, with all the surrounding conveniences, and where he with his family resided much of their time. The Hon. John F. Bodine, in his history of Squankum, read before the Surveyors' Association of West New Jersey, January 1, 1878, describes this house as follows: "This house in its earlier days must have been quite a palatial residence; it was built of cedar logs hewn square and dovetailed together at the corners, and was two stories high.

It was wainscoted inside with planed boards, one edge beaded, and in it was an open entry about eight feet wide with an open stairway."

In the location of this tract of land, he says, "It is in Gloucester County, New Jersey, at the 'Hospitality Ponds.'" These ponds were at that time about the head-waters of a stream of the same name and covered considerable territory. Sometimes they were made by the beaver, but generally lay upon the low, flat soils peculiar to lands in South Jersey. The house stood beside the Old Cape Road, about twenty miles from Philadelphia as the crow flies, but a much greater distance when the trail was followed. As a dwelling it stood solitary and alone in the depths of the forest that covered the whole country, save perhaps a few tenements near by where lived the servants and retainers of the establishment. Enough can be gathered from Judge Bodine's description to show that it had an air of pretention about it, and was occupied by those who were not to "the manor born," nor sought their livelihood in the timber and swamps in that section.

Charles Brockden, the proprietor of this place, was an Englishman, born April 3, 1683, in the parish of St. Andrew's, near Holborn, London. At proper age he was articled to an attorney-at-law, who was opposed to the government as then administered, at whose rooms his friends of the same opinion assembled, and where a plot against the life of the king originated. Religious prejudice and political rivalry pervaded almost every class of society, and the failure of the new king (William III.) to fulfil his promises increased rather than abated the feeling. The distrust that existed among the different factions led to secret societies which boded no good to the king. The prerogatives of the crown had been abused and the people were borne down with taxes. William refused to relinquish or even relax any of the powers heretofore claimed, and, in bringing his favorites around him, created much hostility to his administration. The conspirators had reason to believe that Charles Brockden overheard their conversations and had

knowledge of their plans. Being convinced of this, they at first proposed to murder him, but better counsel prevailed, and he was sent to America.

Charles Brockden came to Philadelphia in 1706, and was employed by Thomas Story, who (under William Penn) was the first keeper of the Great Seal and Master of the Rolls. In 1712 he was appointed Deputy Master of the Rolls, and on the retirement of Mr. Story, in 1715, he was selected to succeed him. He also served as Register of the Court of Chancery from 1720 to 1739, and was appointed Recorder of Deeds, and a Justice of the Peace in 1722. His name and autograph are familiar to every student of the early deed-history of the Province of Pennsylvania, as the former is endorsed on all patents of confirmation that were issued from the Proprietaries' land-office in the interval between 1715 and 1767, in which latter year he resigned, the infirmities of old age rendering his further incumbency unsatisfactory to Governor John Penn. In early life he was a member of the Established Church, but after his first marriage he united with the Friends, and was a member of the Middletown Meeting until 1711, when he was transferred to the Philadelphia Monthly Meeting. When Whitefield visited Pennsylvania he became one of his followers; but through official relations with Count Zinzendorf he united, in 1743, with the Moravians.[1]

Charles Brockden was twice married. His first wife was Susannah Fox, from Hackney, near London, who died in May of 1747, and, although professedly belonging to the Society of Friends, was, in accordance with her request,

[1] The Moravian bishop, Cammerhoff, writing to Count Zinzendorf in June of 1747, relates the following anecdote: "Whitefield and Brockden recently met each other, and in the course of their conversation Whitefield said, 'I perceive you wish me to become a Moravian.' 'It is true,' replied Brockden, 'I wish you were a Moravian, not that I think it would add the weight of one grain to their cause, but because you would thereby find some rest and repose, which in your present situation is impossible. I pity you, for you are like those birds of the Malacca Islands, which, being destitute of feet, are therefore compelled to be always on the wing.'"—Ed. Pa. Mag.

buried at Hospitality. During her lingering illness she was visited by the Moravian Sisters, who also were present at her death and burial. Later, he made a proposition to the Moravian congregation in Philadelphia to take a part of his plantation and lay out a graveyard, which was, however, declined, owing to its distance from the city.

For his wife he had purchased a female slave, Beulah, whom, in 1752, he conveyed in due form by deed with covenants to the Moravian Church, which was equivalent to setting her free. Of her purchase he recites: "The cause of which purchase of her was not with any intention of worldly gain by continuing her in slavery all the days of her life, but partly for the service of my dear wife Susannah, who is since deceased, and partly in mercy to prevent others from buying her for filthy lucre's sake." This is evidence that even then some there were who entertained doubts as to the right to hold human beings in perpetual servitude, and set a worthy example for others to follow. His second wife was Mary Lisle. The issue of this marriage was: John, born 15th August, 1749 (died 1756); Charles, born 1st September, 1751; Mary, born 15th September, 1752; Richard, born 13th November, 1754 (died 1756); John, born 11th September, 1756. His daughter, Mary, was married at Christ Church, March 3, 1768, to Thomas Patterson.

Charles Brockden died on Friday afternoon, October 20, 1769, and two days later was buried in his private ground at Hospitality. The funeral was no doubt an event in the neighborhood. His family and friends from Philadelphia, with the minister of the Moravian Church, were present; the Germans and Swedes, who had served him, with their families, and a few Indians made up the remainder of the cortege who followed him to the grave. In the twilight and with uncovered heads the company listened to the last words of the service read by the minister, while the requiem sung echoed strangely through the forest. Wild and weird were the surroundings, and the aborigines themselves were impressed with the solemnity of the occasion. Now, the grave is not known where rest the remains of the "skilful

conveyancer and scrivener" who drew up the articles of agreement of the Library Company of Philadelphia for Benjamin Franklin, who records the fact in 1721.

How great the pity that in the haste and turmoil of this busy life so little care is taken to preserve the land-marks of the early days of our country, that so little respect is shown the many burial-places scattered through the land where often lie the bones of those who deserve a place in the history of their times, yet altogether abandoned and forgotten by those in whose veins flow the same blood and who may feel a pride in having such an ancestor. The constant change going on in the ownership of real estate and the removal of families has much to do with this, and many old graveyards that should be held sacred fall into the possession of strangers, and in a few years the rude stones that mark the graves are taken out and the soil levelled by the ploughman.

The few settlers about Hospitality Ponds were Germans and Swedes; but how they came there and what were the inducements for their going so far from the centres of trade and population may always remain a mystery. Some of these were perhaps Redemptioners, purchased and taken there by Charles Brockden as servants and laborers about his isolated settlement. Judge Bodine also throws light upon this point when he gives the names of some of the old families, such as Hoffsey, Hazelett, Vandegrift, Van Sciver, Imhoff, Taber, Pheiffer, and others, which at once betrays their nationality.

By the foregoing sketch it will be seen that Charles Brockden occupied a large space in the political atmosphere of Pennsylvania. His education and early training fitted him for the positions he was called upon to fill, and made him one of the most useful men of the times. His associates were influential, and he was on social equality with the founders of the commonwealth, and had much to do with their private affairs.

Such men deserve more than a passing notice, for their lives go to make up the history of a people and supply needed facts to make it reliable.

JOURNAL OF ROUTE AND OCCURRENCES IN A JOURNEY TO PHILADELPHIA FROM DIGHTON, BEGUN OCT. 24th, 1778, BY WILLIAM ELLERY.

CONTRIBUTED BY MISS HENRIETTA C. ELLERY, NEWPORT, R.I.

Oct. 24th, 1778. Sat out from Dighton on a Journey to Philadelphia. Arrived at Providence in the afternoon. The black man who had engaged to attend me on the Journey, fell sick or pretended to be so. I sent an express to Dighton for a boy with whom I had talked about his going; and had refused to take on account of this same black man. The Boy was now unwilling to go. I applied to Genl Sullivan who accommodated me with a Soldier of Jackson's regiment. The black fellow was a married man and alas and lack-a-day, was under petticoat government, and his sovereign wanted to keep him at home to wait upon her. If I had known previously to my engaging him that he had been under this kind of domination, I should have consulted his Domina and procured her consent, before I had depended upon him, and not suffered this sad disappointment. Well—Let the ambitious say what they please; Women have more to do with the government of this world than they are willing to allow. Oh! Eve, Eve!

Oct. 27th. Reached South Kingston lodged at Judge Potter's with my wife whom I had bro't to Little Rest to pay a visit to Mrs. Champlin and her other friends.

Oct. 28th. Lodged at Mr Champlin's. This day attended upon the Assembly.

Oct. 29th. Left Little Rest, called upon Mrs. Marchant and dined at my tenant Phillips in Richmond. Reached Preston in the Evening and lodged at Harkness's opposite Mr. Hart's meeting-house; were well entertained. Here to my great comfort I found a son of Æsculapius, to whom I

disclosed my affliction. It was the same with one of Job's and under which I had rode 78 long miles with as much patience as he discovered. But it must be confessed that the Devil had smote him from the sole of his foot unto the crown of his head; whereas I was afflicted but in the middle region. But then I was attacked *a posteriori* and in a spot the most exposed in riding to injury of any in the human body. He made use of a potsherd to scrape himself withal, which must have been a *sore* trial; he had too a set of friends who insulted him and a wife who would have disarmed him of his religion and philosophy. I had with me a kind friend, Wm Redwood of Philadelphia, who had joined me at Providence in his way home, who comforted me, and I had left a wife who had encouraged me to endure affliction like a good Soldier. Upon a comparison of our two cases I find mine so much more tolerable than his, that I am compelled to ask that patient man's pardon.—To return, —the Son of Æsculapius advised me to an *Emplastrum* of *Diachylon cum gummis;* which, coinciding exactly with the opinion of Dr. Babcock, which I had taken the Day before on the case, I followed it and the next day.

Oct. 30th. Rode 35 miles, with more ease than before. We breakfasted at Lathrop's, Norwich, dined at my tenant's (Jesse Billings) in Colchester and reached Emmon's at East Haddam in the Evening. One word *a posteriori*, altho' I infinitely prefer, in which if I rightly remember I agree with that great and acute reasoner Dr. Clark the *priori* road. It is now

Oct. 31st. And I am almost well. Into whose hands this Journal may fall I know not; but humanity bids me tell the reader if ever he should be in my situation not to forget *Diachylon cum gummis.* We are at Emmon's detained by a Storm which has been brewing for more than a fortnight; but which to our comfort, is like the dram which the Gentleman presented to the Rev^d^ —— Phillips of Long Island, the least, as he said by the dram, that ever I saw of its age in my life. This Mr. Phillips had been preaching in I know not and care not what Parish, and being much fatigued the

Gent: with whom he dined, to refresh his Spirits before dinner, presented him with a dram in a very small glass, observing at the same time, that dram was ten years old. The arch priest wittily professed that it was the least of its age that ever he had seen in his life! But as small as the storm is, it is large enough to detain us.

Mrs. Emmons, our Landlady, is one of the most laughing creatures that ever I saw. She begins and ends everything she says, and she talks as much as most females, with a laugh, which is in truth the silliest laugh that ever I heard. As man hath been defined to be a laughing animal, as Laughter manifests a good disposition and tends to make one fat, I will not find fault with laughing, let Solomon and Chesterfield have said what they may have said against it. Indeed the former says there is a time to laugh, but with the latter it is at no time admissible. However, Chesterfield when he condemns it, hath the character of a courtier only in Idea, and does not regard common life. And Horace I think says *ride si sapis.* The *Spectator* hath divided laughter into several species some of which he censures roundly; but doth not as I remember condemn seasonable, gentle laughter. Therefore my pleasant Landlady, laugh on!

Nov. 1st. Passed Connecticut River and dined at Chidsey's on the middle road on the east skirt of Durham. Our Landlady was very kind and pleasant, the cheese and butter were excellent; but alas! they had no Cyder; in consequence of it she said with the tone of lamentation, that they should be quite lonesome this winter. The good people of Connecticut when they form the semicircle round the warm hearth, and the Tankard sparkles with Cyder, are as merry and as sociable as New Yorkers are when they tipple the mantling Madeira. From thence to New Haven is 18 miles, which we reached in the evening. The bridge in the way from Durham being broke down, we passed through North Haven.

Nov. 2nd. Breakfasted with my worthy friend President Stiles. Dined at Thatcher's 14 miles from New Haven, and lodged at Fairfield at Bucklin's which is 9 miles from

Thatcher's. We took this route because the road was pleasanter than through Danbury, and shorter.

Nov. 3rd. Breakfasted at Bates' in Norwalk which is 12 miles from Fairfield. From thence to Ridgefield where we dined is 14 miles. We should have gone through Greenfield to Ridgefield, which is a much shorter way than from Fairfield to Norwalk and so through Wilton to Ridgefield, but were told that the road was blind etc. From Ridgefield to Honeywell's in Upper Salem, where we lodged, is 8 miles.

Nov. 4th. Breakfasted at Height's about 7 miles from Honeywell's, Bated at Carman's Crumpond 8 miles from thence to Kings Ferry which is well-tended is 10 miles, and from thence to Judge Coe's Cakeat where we lodged is 9 miles. Went without Dinner this day.

Nov. 5th. Took the route through Paramus and breakfasted at a Dutchman's about 7 miles from Coe's, and were well-entertained. A little diverting affair took place here: The Children who had never before seen a Gentleman with a wig on, were it seems not a little puzzled with my friend's head-dress. They thought it was his natural hair, but it differed so much from mine and theirs in its shape that they did not know what to make of it. The little boy after viewing it some time with a curious eye, asked his mother, in Dutch, whether it would hurt my friend if he should pull his hair. The mother told us what the boy had said, whereupon my friend took off his wig put it on the head of the boy and led him to the looking-glass. The mixture of Joy and Astonishment in the boy's countenance on this occasion diverted us not a little. He would look with astonishment at Mr. Redwood's bare head, and then survey his own head, and the droll figure he made with the wig on, made him and us laugh very heartily. It is not a little remarkable that children who had lived on a public road should have never before seen a wig. From thence to Newark is 9 miles and to Elizabeth Town 6 miles, where we lodged at one Smith's. A Detachment of the Army under Ld Stirling was here. The Officers had a ball at

Smith's and kept up the dance till three o'clock in the morning. Drum, fife and fiddle, with an almost incessant saltation drove Morpheus from my Pillow.

Nov. 6th. Breakfasted 14½ miles from Elizabeth Town at a small Tavern just opened by an obliging young couple. From thence to Brunswick where we dined elegantly is 7½ miles. Bated at a corner house 10 miles from Drakes. From thence to Hyres's, Princeton, where we lodged is 8 miles.

Nov. 7th. Breakfasted at Clunn's, Trenton, and had the pleasure of seeing and conversing with my worthy friend Mr. Houston. Dined at Bristol. Fared poorly and paid highly. The most noted Taverns do not always afford the best entertainment. When a man's name is up he may lie in bed until noon.

Lodged at Bensalem, Bucks County (William Rodman's). Spent the evening very pleasantly. The next morning rode to Philadelphia and put up for a night or two at my friend Redwood's, from thence went to board with that open generous Whig Stephen Collins, and had John Collins my fellow lodger.

Dr Mac Sparaan's "America Dissected," I met with and read at Philadelphia. In the 30th page he says, speaking of his mission at Narragansett Rhode Island, "I entered on this mission in 1721, and found the People, not a *tabula rasa*, or clean sheet of paper, upon which I might make any Impression I pleased: but a field full of Briars and Thorns, and noxious weeds, that were all to be eradicated before I could implant in them the simplicity of truth. However by God's blessing I have brought over to the Church some hundreds, and among the hundreds I have baptized, there are at least 150 who received the Sacrament at my hands, from twenty years old to seventy or eighty. *Expede Herculem.* By this you may guess in how uncultivated a country my lot fell. Besides the members of our Church who I may boast are the best of the people, being converts not from convenience or civil encouragement, but conscience and conviction; there are Quakers, Anabaptists

of four Sorts, Independents, with a still larger number than all those of the Dissenters of European Parents, devoid of all religion, and who attend no kind of public worship. In all the other colonies the law lays an obligation to go to some sort of worship on Sunday; but here Liberty of conscience is carried to an irreligious extreme. There are here which is no good symptom a vast many Law-Suits; more in one year than the County of Derry has in twenty: and Billy McEvers has been so long your Father's and your Honor's Constable that he would make a very good figure on the bench of our Courts of Session and Common Pleas, and no contemptible one on those of our Courts of Assize and General Gaol Delivery."

Sat out from Philadelphia for Dighton in Company with Thomas Martin of Portsmouth in New Hampshire the 3d *Day of July*, 1779.

I left behind me Sermons on the Subject of Independency, Te Deums, and a civil celebration of that important Anniversary which was to take place on the 5th of this instant. Reached Tomkins's about a mile on this side the Crooked Billet and 17 miles from Philadelphia, where we drank good Coffee and were well lodged.

July 4th. Breakfasted at Bennet's 10 miles from Tomkins's. Dined at Cowels's (Howel's ferry) upon fried Chicken, boiled ham and Peas. Our Landlord and Lady and their well-sized daughters, were very obliging. This house is 7 miles from Bennet's. Lodged at Cahil's (Quaker Town). Our beds here and at Tomkins's were clean and not infested with bugs! This day was intensely hot. This is 14 miles from the Ferry.

July 5th. Passed White's Tavern through mistake and rode a mile on, and breakfasted at a little house just by Johnston's upper mills, which are about 13 miles from Quaker Town. Dined at James's (Hackett Town). The Landlady was talkative enough. This place is 13 miles from Quaker Town. Lodged at Syms, Sussex Court House, which is 18 miles from the last Stage. No bugs!

July 6th. Breakfasted at Carey's 10 miles from the Court

House, stopped at one Perry's, a private house about 7 miles from Carey's: the weather was so *intensely hot* that we could not go any farther until the afternoon, when we proceeded and put up early at Col. Hathorne's which is 10 miles from the last mentioned Place. The 5th day of the month was the hottest day there hath yet been this Summer. I surveyed my bed according to custom before I ventured to enter it (Search first before you enter is no bad rule) and lo! a bug of enormous size displayed his huge brown bloated corps. I instantly applied the blaze of the candle to him and with many sincere imprecations offered him a burnt sacrifice to the Goddess of Impurity. This done I drew the bed from the bedstead, disposed the covering in order, and committing myself to the Lethean God, fell fast asleep. Early in the morning I awoke, shook off soft sleep, mounted my Jenny, and broke my fast at Yelverton's which is 10 miles from Hathorne's. This is a good house. From thence we rode to Hurd's about 12 miles where we dined. Here I stripped off my stocking and bathed the fourth toe of my right foot with rum. As I rose while it was yet dark, in walking my chamber I struck the said toe with great force against the edge of the foot-post of the bed and gave it a dire contusion. A coarse proverb says, "there is no help for sickness or sore-toes." I must therefore bear this as all other afflictions, with magnanimity. Under a red hot sun admist sore toes and all the trials of a tedious Journey, the thoughts of my Jenny supports, cheers and animates me! From Hurd's to New Windsor, where the boat being ready, we passed the ferry with a fair wind and lodged at Storms's. We stopped at Major Griffin's and would have lodged there; but neither he nor his wife was at home: and his daughter and a [party] of young gentlemen and ladies who were at the house, were much more attentive to themselves and their pleasures, than to us and our fatigue. Humanity and its felicitating reflection are easily banished by the rapturous joys of Sensation! We breakfasted at Morhouse's which is 15 miles from Storms's. Morhouse received us kindly, and treated us in the best manner

he could. His house is a good one. In coming hither from Storms's we missed our way and were obliged to ride 2 miles round. It is always well where you are not quite certain of the road to enquire particularly about it. From Morhouse's to Deacon Gayler's where we dined, is 6 miles. This is a very good house and the people obliging. (N.B. Not to pass this house unless it should occasion great delay.) We stopped at New Milford a few minutes where we heard that the enemy had left New Haven; had landed at Fairfield and burnt the Town. Lodged at Blackley's in Roxbury. The people were civil, but the Bugs were so uncivil as to force me from my bed and compel me to lie on the floor.

July 9th. We breakfasted at Gilchrist's in Woodbury: about three or four miles from the former the eye is saluted with a beautiful Landscape. The side of a mountain in a semicircular form, its gentle declivity presents a charming variety of fields, woods, and buildings. In a word it yields a more beautiful prospect than any you behold between it and Philadelphia. Gilchrist's furnished us with the best dish of Bohea Tea, and the best toasted bread and butter I have eaten for a twelvemonth. But this is a chequered state of things, and good alas! is frequently attended with evil. My Surtout was strapped to the front of my Saddle, and my Saddle was placed in the entry of the house, where I thought it was secure from any defilement; but a little boy who had stuffed himself the evening before with mush and milk, seated himself on my Surtout. I put my Saddle on the horse and was just about to mount when lo! I turned my eyes downward from it with abhorrence, and to my still greater confusion, the right side of my breeches was miserably besmeared from top to bottom. I cried out for my landlady with great vociferation: She appeared and soon removed my embarrassment. But before I quit this Subject I cannot avoid remarking, that throughout the Country as you ride from Philadelphia to New Hampshire you shall seldom see a temple erected to Cloacina. From this to Baldwin's (private) in Waterbury is 10 miles: from thence to Curtis Southrington where we lodged well is 10 miles, and from

thence to Ld. North's Farmington is 11 miles—We dined at Bull's in Hartford 10 miles from North's. Had some social chat with Mr. Ellsworth and lodged at Hill's about ten miles from Hartford without Bugs.

July 10th. Breakfasted at Buell's in Hebron 8 miles from Hill's. Dined at Jesse Billing's my Tenant in Colchester. The Enemy on Monday entered Nw Haven and pillaged the Inhabit's. They were opposed by a handful of men who behaved gallantly. Of them between 20 & 30 were killed and of the Enemy it is said an equal number, and among them was an adjutant Campbell. The next day they landed at Fairfield and burned the Town. How they came to destroy this town and not New Haven is a matter of inquiry. They are now it is said hovering about New London, a considerable body of militia is collected there, and more men are ordered in. Some gentlemen of Hartford seemed to be apprehensive that the enemy would pay them a visit. I wish they might. For I presume such a body of men would muster on that occasion as would effectually prevent their return. It is thought that they mean to draw off the main army from their present post, and then to attack West Point Fort. I rather think that their intention is to keep the People in constant alarm and thereby prevent their getting in the Summer Harvest. Finding that they cannot conquer the country they are determined, agreeably to the Manifesto of the Commons, to do as much mischief as they can to make our alliance with France of as little benefit to that kingdom as possible. Miserable Politicians, by their infernal conduct they will destroy every spark of affection which may still remain in the breast of Americans, and force us and our commerce irrecoverably into the Arms of France, which have been and still are extended to receive both. *Quos Deus vult perdere prius dementat.* We were detained by the rain at Mr. Billing's the afternoon, and lodged there.

July 11th. From Billing's to Lathrop's where I dined is 12 miles—after dinner drank a glass of good Madeira with Capt. Johnston.

July 12th. Met with Mr. William Mumford at Lathrop's and sat out with him for Providence. Bated at Adam's about 8 miles from Lathrop's, where I saw a girl whose head-dress was a fine Burlesque on the modern head-dress of polite Ladies. It was of an exalted height and curiously decorated with Holyokes. Lodged well at Dorrances. No Bugs! 18 miles.

July 13th. Breakfasted at Angel's 13½ miles from Dorrances, and lodged at Providence 12½ miles.

July 14th. Reached home at Dinner time 18 miles from Providence and found all well.

This Journey for the Season was exceedingly pleasant. The first four days were too hot for comfort; but the succeeding six were cool and my mare was as fresh when I got home as when I sat off. The two men who escorted me and a sum of money for the State, behaved very well and my companion was sociable and clever.

THE INTRODUCTION OF METHODISM INTO PENNSYLVANIA.

BY REV. GOLDSMITH DAY CARROW, D.D.

[Abstract of a paper read before the Historical Society of Pennsylvania at a stated meeting held January 12, 1885.]

It was not until 1767 that Methodism obtained a permanent footing on Pennsylvania soil. Like many other things, both good and evil, it entered at the port of Philadelphia. On the 13th of September, 1759, French despotism saw the beginning of its end on this continent. Wolfe, dying in the arms of victory on the plains of Abraham, was immortalized by his triumph and his fall. But there was a subaltern in the victorious army who made a gallant fight and lost an eye,—Captain Thomas Webb, the first of the founders of Methodism in Pennsylvania. Returning with his regiment to England, he was converted under the ministry of Mr. Wesley, at Bath, in 1765, and being ordered again to duty in America, he united with the Methodists, and exercised among them his gifts as a local preacher. Appearing in the pulpit in full uniform, and marked with the scars of a gallant veteran, he excited no small degree of attention. Such a figure, in such a place, had not been seen since the days of Cromwell and his militant Puritans.

Captain Webb opened his commission in Philadelphia in a sail-loft near the drawbridge which then spanned Dock Creek at Front Street. The surname of this sail-maker was Croft, and here in his upper room the first Methodist class-meeting was established. Here he ministered until the arrival of Rev. Messrs. Boardman and Pillmore in 1769. The society formed in the sail-loft consisted of seven persons: James Emerson and wife, Miles Pennington and wife, Robert Fitzgerald and wife, and John Hood. The latter

was the leader, and consequently the first class-leader in the metropolis of the State. Soon after the society was formed, Lambert Wilmer and wife, Duncan Steward and wife, Burton Wallace and wife, Mrs. John Hood, and Mr. Croft were added to it. One year later (1770) John Hood was appointed class-leader, succeeding James Emerson. In 1783 he was licensed to preach by the Rev. Caleb B. Pedicord.

The first church owned and occupied by Methodists in Pennsylvania was St. George's, in Philadelphia. A German Reformed congregation began to build, but were unable to finish it, having incurred pecuniary liabilities which they found themselves unable to meet. An act passed by the Assembly in 1769 authorized the sale of the church and the payment of its debts. The purchase was made by Mr. Hockley for seven hundred pounds, who, on the 14th of June, 1770, conveyed it by deed to Miles Pennington for six hundred and fifty pounds; and on the 11th of September of the same year said Miles Pennington (tallow-chandler) by deed conveyed it to Richard Boardman, Joseph Pillmore, Thomas Webb, Edward Evans, Daniel Montgomery, John Dowers, Edmund Beach, Robert Fitzgerald, and James Emerson, for the sum of six hundred and fifty pounds. It was fitted up for worship in plain style.

John Wesley first sent missionaries to America in 1769, the first being Richard Boardman and Joseph Pillmore. They landed in Philadelphia the same year, finding Captain Webb in the city, and assuming the spiritual care of the society he had organized, entered upon their evangelistic labors. John King also arrived the same year, and began to preach without a license. His first sermon was delivered in the Potter's Field (Washington Square), and so favorable was the impression he made that Mr. Pillmore gave him a license, and sent him to Wilmington, Del. In 1771, Boardman and Pillmore were reinforced by Francis Asbury and Richard Wright, who came out to America by appointment of Mr. Wesley, arriving in Philadelphia the 27th of October. At this date there were only ten Methodist preachers on the continent. Their order of entering

the work was as follows: Strawbridge, Embury, Webb, Williams, Boardman, Pillmore, King, Asbury, Wright, and Richard Owen, of Maryland, the first native American Methodist preacher. The year following Mr. Wesley appointed Mr. Asbury to be his general assistant in the colonies, and enjoined upon him the duty of exercising a more vigorous moral discipline than had previously been enforced. In June, 1773, however, Mr. Thomas Rankin, a Scotchman by birth, arrived in the country, having been appointed by Mr. Wesley general superintendent of the whole Methodist mission-work. He was clothed with higher powers than had been confided to Mr. Asbury. Meanwhile, all the missionaries were travelling through the country lying between the banks of the Hudson and the Atlantic coast of Maryland and Virginia. But Webb, Boardman, Pillmore, Asbury, Wright, and King deserve to be preeminently regarded as the founders of Pennsylvania Methodism.

The first church erected entirely by Methodists in the State was located on Second Street south of Catharine Street, Philadelphia, and called Ebenezer. Robert Fitzgerald, one of the original trustees of St. George's, who resided in the neighborhood of Shippen and Penn Streets, was the patron of the infant cause in that section of the city. He was a block- and pump-maker, and had opened his shop for Methodist preaching, and the formation of a class, and the gradual growth of its membership led to the erection of a church in 1790. It continued to be used long after the erection of the Second Ebenezer church on Christian Street, which in turn gave place to the present edifice.

The first church in a rural district of the State was built in Montgomery County in 1770, and was named Bethel. It was not only the first of the rural churches in point of time, but also in point of honor, for it was doubly consecrated to God by the shelter it afforded to his worshippers and to the wounded and dying soldiers of the patriot army, who were carried into it from the battle-field of Germantown. Hans Supplee took an active part in erecting this humble edifice,

and his name is worthy of perpetuation. His wife was converted under the ministry of Captain Webb, and died in 1841, in her ninety-second year. Some of the officers were quartered in his house, while Washington and his staff were the guests of Peter Wentz on Skippack Creek. Numbers of the soldiers who died in the chapel were interred in its burial-ground.

Particulars as to all other localities in which Methodism was first introduced in Pennsylvania cannot be given, but only some of the more important may be mentioned. In 1772, Mr. Asbury first preached within the limits of what is now Delaware County. In all the eastern and southern counties Methodism was introduced between the years 1769 and 1773,—that is to say, in Bucks, Montgomery, Chester, Berks, York, and Lancaster. The first Conference of Methodist preachers in the State and in the country was convened at Philadelphia on Friday, July 14, 1773, and was held in St. George's Church. The members were all Europeans. They were Thomas Rankin, who presided, Richard Boardman, Joseph Pillmore, Francis Asbury, Richard Wright, George Shadford, Thomas Webb, John King, Abraham Whitworth, and Joseph Yearbry. There were one hundred and eighty members in Philadelphia, and in the whole country eleven hundred and sixty. The second Conference was held in the same church, May 25, 1774. The membership reported was two thousand and seventy-three, a gain of nearly a hundred per cent. But perilous times were at hand. The Revolution, which had been surely gathering for several years, was about to break. The third Conference met in the same church, May 17, 1775, not quite a month after the battles of Lexington and Concord. Mr. Rankin again presided, being General Superintendent of the whole work by the appointment of Mr. Wesley. The gain of members in the work at large was one thousand and seventy-five. But in Philadelphia, owing to its being the focus of political interest, there had been a loss of forty-three. There was no report from the country, and probably at that date no society had been formally organized outside the city.

The Methodist preachers, with one exception, were all of British birth, and were subjects of the British government. Mr. Wesley, being a stanch royalist, had felt it to be his duty to advise his societies in America to maintain their loyalty to the flag of the mother-country, and had addressed a letter to them with that end in view. From these two facts the patriots were amply justified in suspecting them of adhering to the British crown. And, in fact, all the preachers did adhere, and most of them went back to England. Francis Asbury remained, and, being an Englishman, that fact naturally directed suspicion to him. In one instance he was arrested and fined five pounds. This occurred on the 20th of June, 1776, near Baltimore. The withdrawal of Mr. Rankin from the country had devolved upon Mr. Asbury the general superintendence of the preachers and societies. This imposed upon him the duty of travelling at large; but he was so much embarrassed by the prevailing suspicion of disloyalty to the patriot cause that he retired to the house of Judge White, of Delaware, and remained in seclusion there nearly a year. During this time the preachers privately assembled there in conference, and the superintendent having counselled them, and counselled with them, sent them forth to their work. One incident will sufficiently illustrate the perils of the times. Caleb B. Pedicord, whose circuit was the State of New Jersey, arrived one Sabbath afternoon at a private house, where he had an appointment to preach. Within a short distance of the house there was a post of the Continental army. Hearing of the preaching service, the commander sent an officer with a file of soldiers to test, not the orthodoxy, but the loyalty, of the sermon. As the preacher was about to begin the service, the officer drew up his men in line before the door, and, entering the room, laid his sword across the table that was used as a pulpit, and took a seat in front of it. The text was, "Fear not, little flock; for it is your Father's good pleasure to give you the kingdom." The preacher spoke to his congregation of some of the things which they had good reason to fear, and in conclusion said they had no cause to fear the soldiers

if they were true to their country; "and as for myself," he exclaimed, "if my heart beats not high and strong for my country's independence, may it this moment forever cease to beat!" This settled the question of loyalty, and, without waiting for the benediction, the soldiers marched back to their quarters.

But the most important event in Methodism, the event that contributed most to its establishment and diffusion, occurred the year following the close of the war. In 1784 the societies were formed into a church, and the preachers were invested with authority to perform all the functions of the ministry. Prior to this date they had been regarded, and had generally regarded themselves, as laymen, only having the right simply to expound the Scriptures and to tell their own experience. The form of government adopted was the Episcopal, though but two orders in the ministry were recognized.

It needs no argument to prove that the itinerant system was perfectly adapted to the social and moral condition of the Commonwealth at the time of its introduction. The bulk of the population was in towns and cities situated on the principal water-courses. Excepting the society of Quakers, the system of calling and settling pastors universally obtained. Cities and towns, and rural settlements that were sufficiently numerous and wealthy, called and settled pastors. But, beyond these limits, the widely-scattered families were in a great measure left destitute of the gospel. To all, but especially to these, the Methodist itinerant system was a divine adaptation.

Entering the Commonwealth, as has been stated, at the chief port in 1767 or 1768, by the end of the century Methodism had established itself in most of the principal towns and valleys of its northern, central, and southern sections. The time of its introduction into the towns I am about to name was in the order in which I shall name them: Reading in 1772; York, 1781; Wilkesbarre, 1788; Huntingdon, 1788; Carlisle, 1789; Williamsport, 1791; Pittsburgh, about 1801; Easton, 1802; Lancaster, 1803; New Castle, 1804;

Meadville, 1806; Lewisburg, 1806; Harrisburg, 1810; West Chester, 1810; Erie, 1826; Phœnixville, 1826; Pottsville, 1828; Lebanon, 1828; Tamaqua, 1837; Pottstown, 1838; Scranton, 1840.

The western tier of counties was found most difficult to penetrate. In the town of Erie there was no Methodist church till 1838, though a class was formed there as early as 1826, and a small church had been built in the county as far back as 1810. The church in the town was a wooden building, thirty-two by forty-five feet, and cost three hundred dollars. Rev. Robert R. Roberts, subsequently elected bishop, was the principal pioneer. He preached in Meadville, the county-seat of Crawford County, in 1806, the service being held in the parlor of a hotel on a week-day evening; but there was no regular appointment maintained in the town till 1818, and the first Methodist class was not formed till 1824. In 1825 there was a revival, which resulted in the organization of a congregation, and the erection of a church edifice was undertaken in 1829; but so small in number and so poor in their circumstances were the members, that several years elapsed before their humble house of worship was completed. In Pittsburgh Methodism made its first appearance, as already mentioned, about 1801. One of the first Methodists of the town was John Wrenshall, an Englishman by birth, and a local preacher. He was a merchant and a man of intelligence. In 1803, Thomas Cooper, also an Englishman, and an active and earnest Methodist, settled in the city, and was appointed leader of the first class. In the rear of his dwelling on Market Street there was an orchard, under whose trees the circuit preachers delivered their message in the summer season.

A few of the founders were men of respectable education, some were naturally men of extraordinary intellectual powers, and some were endowed with the gift of eloquence in the legitimate and highest sense of the word. The most of them, however, possessed that clearness, soundness, and balance of the faculties which, for some unaccountable

reason, is called common sense, but which ought to be called uncommon, because it is, perhaps, the least diffused among men of all the gifts of God. All of them, or with rare exceptions, were intensely and supremely devoted to the work of their ministry. The spirit that purified and reigned in their inmost souls, and that consecrated them to the service of preaching the gospel, may be unmistakably inferred from the pecuniary provision they made for their own support. The founders of Pennsylvania Methodism were members of the General Conference of 1784 that organized the Methodist Episcopal Church. What munificent provision the Conference made for themselves and their ministerial colaborers! The Conference ignored the word salary, and substituted for it the word allowance. There were then but two bishops, Coke and Asbury. The allowance of a bishop was sixty-four dollars a year and his travelling expenses. Travelling expenses included the purchase of a new horse when the old one had broken down, feed for the horse when entertainment for man and beast was not offered gratis, and saddle, bridle, and saddle-bags, in which to carry the preacher's wardrobe and library. It was rarely the case that a wheeled conveyance was used, and when such became absolutely necessary, the conveyance and its repairs were included in the allowance for travelling expenses. The same allowance was made for each travelling preacher as for a bishop. The preacher's wife was to receive the same amount stipulated for her husband, and there was an allowance for each child of a preacher under six years of sixteen dollars, and twenty-four dollars to each over six and under eleven years. Two years after this date the rule of allowance for children was repealed, and no regular provision was made for them till the session of the General Conference which met in the year 1800. This organizing Conference of 1784 also prohibited themselves and their brother preachers from taking fees for baptisms, marriages, and funerals. In their view the preachers, from the bishops to the end of the list, composed one family, and were to share equally in the family provision and hardships. The General Conference of 1800

made a rule permitting the preachers to receive marriage fees. But, in the event of the preacher having received his full annual allowance, he was to pay over his marriage fees into what was called the Preachers' Conference Fund, for the purpose of aiding to meet, as far as possible, the necessities of such members of the Conference as had not received their annual allowance. For, small as the allowance was, it fell fifty per cent. short much oftener than it was paid in full. The original sum of sixty-four dollars for the preacher, the same for his wife, and sixteen and twenty-four dollars for each of their children, according to their respective ages, having, after a fair trial of sixteen years, been found to be painfully inadequate, was by the General Conference of 1800 increased to eighty dollars for the preacher, the same for his wife, and for each child under seven years sixteen dollars, and for each over seven and under fourteen years twenty-four dollars. No provision was made for children over fourteen years. It seems to have been taken for granted that they were then capable of earning their own living. This continued to be the allowance down to 1816, when the General Conference of that year raised the compensation to one hundred dollars per annum for the preacher, the same sum for his wife; but there was no increase for the children, the sum remaining as it was fixed in 1800. This was still the allowance or salary when I became a travelling preacher. It is but fair to state that subsequent legislation of the General Conference repealed the rule fixing a specific sum for the support of the preacher and his family, and substituted for it the following rule: "It shall be the duty of the Quarterly Conference of each circuit and station, at the session immediately preceding the Annual Conference, to appoint an estimating committee, consisting of three or more members of the church, who shall, after conferring with the preacher or preachers, make an estimate of the amount necessary to furnish a *comfortable* support to the preacher or preachers stationed among them, taking into consideration the number and condition of the family or families of such preacher or preachers, which estimate shall be subject to the action of

the Quarterly Conference. The travelling and moving expenses of the preachers shall not be reckoned as a part of the estimate, but be paid by the stewards separately." The law, you perceive, is ample for the preacher's comfort, whether the disposition and ability of the church to which he is appointed be ample or otherwise.

All things considered, Asbury, who was chief of the flying cohort, was also the greatest. There were greater preachers than he, though, when at his best, he was a great preacher. But in perception of character, soundness of judgment, force of will, personal influence over men, and in administrative talent he had no equal, while in zeal, earnestness, activity, courage, self-denial, and devotion he could have no superior. He never married. His reasons for remaining a bachelor are thus given in his Journal, under date of January 26, 1804:

"If I should die in celibacy, which I think quite probable, I give the following reasons for what can scarcely be called my choice. I was called in my 14th year, and began my public exercises between sixteen and seventeen. At 21 I travelled, and at 26 I came to America. Thus far I had reasons enough for a single life. It was my intention to return to Europe at 30 years of age; but the war continued, and it was ten years before we had a settled and lasting peace. At 39 I was ordained Superintendent Bishop of America. Among the duties imposed upon me by my office was that of travelling extensively; and I could hardly find a woman with grace enough to enable her to live but one week in fifty-two with her husband. Besides, what right has any man to take advantage of the affections of a woman, make her his wife, and, by a voluntary absence, subvert the whole order and economy of the marriage state, by separating those whom neither God, nature, nor the requirements of civil society, permit long to be put asunder? It is neither just nor generous. I may add to this that I had but little money, and with this little I administered to the necessities of a beloved mother till I was fifty-seven. If I have done wrong I hope God and the sex will forgive me.

It is now my duty to bestow the pittance I have to spare upon the widows, and fatherless children, and poor married men of the conferences."

How many married preachers of the present day could give as good reasons for getting married as Bishop Asbury gave for remaining unmarried? He kept house in his saddle-bags. When not presiding in Conferences he was on horseback, and preaching wherever he found an open door. The original thirteen States and their territories constituted his diocese, and he traversed it annually from east to west and north to south, inspecting the field with his own eye, scaling mountains, fording rivers, threading pathless forests, exposed to the savage Indian, sleeping in the lofts of cabins, or on the ground, beneath the stars of God.

Jesse Lee, of Virginia, was unequalled in wit and unexcelled in popular oratory. And not even Mr. Asbury was a match for him in getting a foothold for the Methodist gospel in the midst of prejudice and opposition, or in handling the case of a persistent enemy.

Here mention might be made of Ezekiel Cooper, the strongest intellect and the most acute logician in the ranks of the Methodist ministry of that day; of William Penn Chandler, a Doctor of Medicine, who was converted and abandoned his medical practice to preach the gospel at his own expense, who was orator, revivalist, and administrator all in one; of Henry Boehm, son of a Mennonite preacher, who preached in English and German, and died recently, the oldest Methodist preacher in the world; of Thomas Ware, a worthy companion of the best, and excelled in gifts of mind and grace by few; of Lawrence McCoombs, who was a strong-backed and strong-willed man; a son of thunder and a son of consolation; great in the pulpit before an audience that would give him time to get warm; estimating learning, but valuing power with God and men most of all; a great presiding elder; of Lawrence Lawrenson, the most diffident of men, but of preachers at times one of the most overwhelming, whose sermons were heard by men who fancied that they shook the solid continent beneath their

feet, and were remembered, with tears in the eyes of their hearers, after the preacher had been in his grave for fifty years.

A few sentences only remain for two of the most remarkable of all the preachers whose names are associated with the introduction of Methodism into Pennsylvania,—Solomon Sharpe and Henry White. Solomon Sharpe was a man of handsome and commanding presence. His intellectual powers were quick, vigorous, comprehensive, and highly original. To be brief, he was a genius, and was therefore necessarily, as some think, a man of eccentricities. His whole ministry was illumined with lightning-like displays of the divine presence to attest his message.

Henry White was born on the Eastern Shore of Virginia, was of poor but worthy parentage, and was in early life apprenticed to learn the trade of a blacksmith. He spent twenty years on districts as presiding elder, and so anxious were the people to hear him that many counted the weeks in eagerness for the Quarterly-Meeting Sabbath to roll round.

The growth of Methodism till it has encircled the globe, with all its influences of education and of benevolence and charity, did not come within the compass of the writer's plan. It was of the introduction only that this paper was to treat, and to this extent it is submitted to the pleasure of the Society.

REV. WILLIAM FRAZER'S THREE PARISHES,—ST. THOMAS'S, ST. ANDREW'S, AND MUSCONETCONG, N.J.,—1768–70.

BY HENRY RACE, M.D.

[Since the historical sketch of St. Thomas's Church of Alexandria, Hunterdon County, N.J., was published (PENNA. MAG., Vol. X. p. 256) there have been discovered copies of several letters written by Rev. William Frazer to Rev. Dr. Benton, one of the officers of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. Mr. Frazer, under the patronage of this society, was missionary in charge of the parishes of St. Thomas's, St. Andrew's, and Musconetcong from May, 1768, until the Revolution, and of the former two from the close of the war until his death, which occurred in 1795.

The copies are in Mr. Frazer's handwriting, and purport to have been made from the letters sent by him to Dr. Benton.

In addition to these Mr. Frazer's Marriage and Baptismal Records have also been found. The latter appears to be incomplete.

These interesting relics were discovered among old papers left by Mr. Robert Sharp, who was a warden of St. Andrew's Church in 1785.]

COPIES OF LETTERS FROM REV. WILLIAM FRAZER TO THE REV. DR. BENTON, IN ABINGDON STREET, WESTMINSTER, LONDON.

REV^D SIR

Mr. Ayers and I sail'd from London a few days after our taking leave of you at your house in Abington Street and safely arrived at Philadelphia on 21st April after an agreeable passage of 7 weeks.

I repaired to my mission in two weeks after my arrival and met with a very kind reception from my three Congregations of Amwell, Kingwood and Muskenedkunk, and at their request my time is equally divided among them.

In Amwell there is the shell of a small stone church,[1]

[1] St. Andrew's, at Ringoes, in the township of Amwell, Hunterdon County. This church has been rebuilt (1867) at Lambertville, a short distance from its former location, where there is a flourishing parish, under the rectorship of Rev. E. K. Smith, D.D.

built, as I'm informed, about 17 years ago,[1] but never finished—There I officiate every 3d Sunday to a full Congregation consisting chiefly of Dissenters. The late unhappy differences 'twixt this Congregation and my unhappy predecessor[2] together with the long Vacancy that ensu'd has render'd the Situation of this Church truly lamentable, there being, at present, no more than 3 families who profess themselves members of our Church, and these but in very indifferent Circumstances. The Dissenters have now got such a footing here, especially Presbyterians, (having no less than 3 places of worship within 10 miles of this Church) that I despair of ever seeing it restored to its former flourishing State. However, you may be assured that with the assistance of Almighty God no pains shall be spar'd on my part in instructing the people and promoting the interest of the Church, and, as far as it is in my power, Satisfaction of the Venble Society.

In Kingwood, about 2 miles from Amwell, there is an old log Building[3] in a very shattered Condition, so open and uncomfortable that I cannot perform divine Worship in it in the winter time, with any degree of decency; but will be obliged

[1] This must have been the second house on that ground. As early as January 22, 1725, William Lummox, "in consideration of the sum of five shillings of current silver money," conveyed unto John Knowles and Duncan Oliphant, "in trust, to the sole benefit, and towards the settling of the Church of England ministry, and for no other intent or purpose whatsoever," a tract of land containing eleven acres, "being a part of the plantation whereon the said Wm. Lummox now lives," the boundaries of which began in the line of William Lummox and Francis Moore's land, and ran "by land of Godfrey Peters, crossing the King's road" (the Old York Road).

Sealed and delivered in presence of John Parke, Nathaniel Pettit, John S. Locker, and Christopher Becket, and attested by John Reading.

The first church on this land was probably a temporary log structure, which had become unfit for use by 1751.

[2] Rev. Mr. Morton.

[3] St. Thomas's Church, of Alexandria. At that time it stood in Kingwood township, Hunterdon County. When rebuilt, in 1770, it was removed to the opposite side of the road, which is the line between the townships of Kingwood and Alexandria.

to officiate in private houses until the approach of Spring. Here there are about 30 Families of ye Church of England who with several people of other denominations make up a large Congregation, and appear serious and devout during divine service. They have already set a Subscription on foot in order to build a handsome Church of brick or stone early next Spring. I hope by next Octr it will be finished. I have the pleasure to inform you that this Congregation has increased considerably since my first appearing among them.

In Muskenetcunk,[1] ab^t 25 miles from Amwell there is not as yet any house set apart for divine worship, but hitherto I have officiated in Barns and dwelling houses. There are a great many families who call themselves Church of England people from no other principle as I can find than because it was the Religion of their Fathers. Every time I perform divine service among them they appear serious enough but totally ignorant with regard to the prayers of the Church. I have once preached about 16 miles distant from the place I generally attend at Muskenetcunk where I was told there had been Churchmen (as they called themselves) arrived to the age of 40 who never in their lives had been to hear a Church min^r before—From these people I received very warm invitations to visit them often, but the Extensiveness of my own mission I'm afraid will not admit of my complying with their requests.

In Muskenetcunk they are about building a log Church which they think will serve for a few years and as there is a prospect of the Church increasing very fast there they are of opinion that in a little time with the Society's assistance they will be able to support a Missionary themselves, which I inform'd them the Society would be willing to grant providing they would engage themselves to procure a necessary support for a worthy Missionary to reside among them.

[1] There are traditions of a log church which stood in pre-Revolutionary times near the Musconetcong Creek, in the township of Mansfield, Sussex (now Warren) County, and near the village of Changewater. This must have been the "Muskenetcunk" of Mr. Frazer's letter.

Muskenetcunk does not seem calculated to be joined with Amwell and Kingwood as they are separated by a ridge of high mountains[1] which the frost and snow in winter render quite impassable, and even in good weather I find it very troublesome from the distance which is 25 miles and the roughness of the roads—to attend once in three weeks.

I hope in my next I shall be able to give a more particular and satisfactory account—I have baptized one adult woman and 18 Infants.

I have drawn for half year's salary on the Society's Treasurer.

I am
Revd Sir
Your very humble Servt
Wm Frazer

Amwell Octr 20th 1768

I am certain that if they had frequent opportunities of hearing divine service Performed and being instructed in the principles of Religion, the Church would undoubtedly flourish there and the rather because Dissenters have made no considerable inroads among them, tho' they are forever assiduous in planting their Emisaries where they think the Church makes any progress, and they never fail among the first things they do to prejudice the weak and ignorant against the Church, her Offices and her Members, which prejudices once they take root are seldom or never removed. So that I think if it was practicable these places should be supplied with an itinerant Missionary before such prejudices take place.

Revd Sir:

In my Letter of the 20 Oct. last I acquainted the Society of my safe Arrival at my Mission, the Reception I met with from my three Congregations &c. The Congregation of Amwell increases but slow having only an addition of one Family consisting of a Man and his 5 children[2] whom I

[1] The Musconetcong range.

[2] Andrew Pierce and children, of Amwell.

baptized on Good Friday and who formerly professed Anabaptism. The Church still continues in the same shattered Condition, but am in Expectations of having it repaired this Summer, as I find the Congregation disposed to contribute according to their Ability, which with a small Legacy of £5 this currency left to this Church a few years ago by one Kitchen, hope will enable us to put it in some tolerable Repairs.

I preached here on Easter Sunday to a numerous Congregation of different Denominations and administered the holy Sacrament to Communicants.

I am sorry to acquaint you that the success of the Subscriptions set on foot some time ago in order to build a new Church in Kingwood is not in a likely way to answer our Expectations. The slow progress we have hitherto made in this Undertaking I may venture to assure you does not proceed from no other Cause than the Inability of those to whom the applications were made.—For in this part of the Country the Crops have, of late years, very much failed the Farmers, which together with such a general Dearth of Money renders them entirely incapable of advancing a Cause which they have greatly at heart. Lewis Stevens Esq.[1] a gentleman of distinguished piety, who has a considerable Interest in this parish has conveyed for the use of this Church over an acre of Land on which the New Church is to be erected, and is singularly zealous in promoting the Interest of the Church here. As soon as the Subscriptions are completed, at least as soon as it is known what is to be depended upon, they intend setting about building; all that I expect to be done this season is the procuring of the Materials.

I expect that the Log Church in Muskenetcunk will be finished this Spring—here are two extensive Townships

[1] Lewis Stevens was a brother of Hon. John Stevens. He lived at the Cornwall mansion, a half-mile from St. Thomas's. The "acre of Land" he gave to the parish was a part of the Cornwall plantation. He took a very efficient interest in the rebuilding of the church. He died April 19, 1772, aged fifty-one years, and was buried within its walls.

which compose this Congregation. I have, hitherto (by their request) officiated once in three weeks in each Township in the most central place about 16 miles apart.—This Congregation have had one third of my time since my arrival, and I find, by the blessing of God, that my Labours among them are attended with success: they are very anxious I should continue to attend them as often as I have done: but I am afraid, was I to comply with their Request, and attend Muskenetcunc with the same constancy as I have already done, I should soon be made useless to the World, my Constitution, which (I thank God,) is naturally Good would soon be impaired: for no Common Constitution would bear what I have undergone this winter in attending upon those places which are 25 and sometimes 30 miles distant from my house. Muskenetcunk does not seem calculated to be joined with Amwell and Kingwood as they are separated by a Ridge of high Mountains and a River which the heavy rains and snow in the winter time render almost impassible—It is with the greatest reluctance that I would withdraw my Services from this place as the fair prospect I have of forming a flourishing Congregation has been the only inducement of my giving them so much of my Time. —however I intend if possible, not to make any alterations in the disposition of my Time till further instructions from the Society.

Since last May I baptized 2 adults and 83 children, buried one. I have drawn for one half year's Salary on the Society's Treasurer.

May 20th 1769.

Revd. Sir

I wrote you in May last acquainting you as nearly as possible of the Situation in which my Mission was at that Time: and I now embrace this Opportunity by Mr. Hutchins (a worthy young gentleman intending for holy Orders & the Society's Service) to inform you that our Church at Amwell is almost repaired—The voluntary Contributions of this Congregation have indeed far exceeded my expectations—

Several moderate and well-meaning Dissenters in the Neighborhood have not been backward on this occasion—The Dutch Lutheran Congregation[1] who have sometimes the privilege of performing divine Service in this Church have also promis'd their Assistance. In a few weeks I am in hopes of seeing this long-neglected Building comfortably and decently finished.

The Lutheran Congregation I just now mentioned, have no Settled Minister of their own but are supplied chiefly from Philadelphia and new Germantown, a small village about 25 miles to the N. E. where I am told the Lutherans have a handsome Church, well endowed. They often requested me the use of our Church providing they could procure a Clergyman of their own Denomination to perform divine Service once in Six weeks—This Request (notwithstanding their near Conformity to our Church) I could not be free to comply with without first consulting some of my Brethren who gave it as their opinion I might indulge them with the greatest Safety. I should be glad to have the Society's Sanction likewise in this affair as I think myself in duty bound to consult them on every such occasion.

I am sorry to acquaint the Society that our Church at Kingwood is not yet begun—This long and unexpected delay is entirely owing to an unaccountable misunderstanding between several of this Congregation with respect to the Situation of the intended Church—part of them (and in my judgment the most considerable part,) objecting against the Situation of the old Log building when they first concluded to have the new one built, as there is no building within ½

[1] This church is spoken of in the old deeds as "The High Dutch Calvenistical or Preisbeterian Church." Their first house of worship was probably at this time no longer fit for use. In 1800 it was called the "German Presbyterian Church of Amwell;" in 1809 it became the "Amwell Dutch Reformed Church;" and in 1810 it was called the "United First Church of Amwell," which title it still retains. It is situated at Larison's Corner, about a mile from Ringoes. The deed for the graveyard was given, January 21, 1749, by James Whittaker to William Kase, Peter Hofman, and William Bellowsfelt, "trustees of the Calvinistical High Dutch Congregation."

mile of that place, which renders it very inconvenient in case any of the Congregation should be taken ill &c. The other place propos'd is a small village[1] about two miles distant from the old Situation.—I have, from time to time, us'd all my Endeavors to bring about a Reconciliation and have at last prevail'd with them to fix on a day and determine the matter without any animosity, & if possible to the Satisfaction of all the Congregation.

The Small Log Church of Musconetcunk is built, but not finished within.

AMWELL, 28th Sept. 1769.

REVD SIR:

This day I am honour'd with your Letter of date 19th Feb. last which was transmitted to me by Doctor Smith of Philadelphia.—I cannot help expressing my Surprise at the Occasion of its being so long detained before it came to my hands.—I should be glad that when you write me for the future, you would please send under cover to Doctor Chandler.

I am glad to understand that the Society approve of the measures I have taken in giving the Lutheran Congregation the use of my Church at Amwell; and will take particular care that this Service shall not interfere with ours.

I am very sorry to find that the Society's Funds cannot enable them to make Musconetcunk a separate Mission—an Establishment which I have much at heart and earnestly wish for—for the following Reason—That as John Grandin & Charles Coxe Esqrs. two respectable Gentlemen of my Congregation in Kingwood, having Religion at heart & willing to promote the interest of the Church—have empowered me to inform the Society that they will build a decent and comfortable Church on a Lot of ground given by Mr. Charles Stewart,[2] a dissenting Gentleman in the Neighborhood, for

[1] Pittstown.

[2] Colonel Charles Stewart of Revolutionary renown. He lived on the premises now occupied by the Hoyts at Landsdown. Coxe and Grandin were his neighbors.

that purpose—providing the venerable Society could otherwise order a Supply for Musconetcunc Congregation, and indulge them with a third of my Time.—By this means the Mission under my care would be more comfortable to myself and the people have more benefit of my Labors as they would have more frequent opportunities of attending divine Service.—Therefore as there is a prospect of a new Mission being erected in Sussex I would with submission propose that Musconetcunc (which is in the same County) should be made a part of that Mission: this proposal cannot appear improper as the advantage attending its taking effect must be very considerable.

Our Congregation at Amwell rather increases—The Presbyterian Congregation[1] attend at Church constantly since the death of their Minister the Rev^d Mr. Kirkpatrick, who died about a 12 month ago.—This Gentleman's benevolent disposition and good Catholic Spirit has had its proper effects upon his Congregation who are not any ways tinctured with that rigid severity in their religious notions oftentimes so peculiar to Dissenters.[2]

Our new Church at Kingwood, (about 7 miles distant from that other proposed to be built) was begun after Harvest & by September the mason work was finished: it is built of Stone 30 by 40, and if they proceed with the same Spirit as they began I hope by next Fall we shall have it comfortably and decently finished.

The Musconetcunc Congregation increases fast—when the days are too short for having Service twice I catechise the Children, who have already made a considerable progress in the principles of the Xtian Religion—This Congregation consisting chiefly of people but in low Circumstances are continually soliciting me to write to the Society for Books—

[1] This church belonged first to the Presbytery of Philadelphia, and from 1738 to that of New Brunswick. It was organized prior to 1733. The house of worship stood in the graveyard on the York Road, about half-way between Reaville and Larison's Corner, two and a half miles from Ringoes. Rev. William Kirkpatrick was installed as pastor in June, 1766, and remained in charge until his death, September 8, 1769.

[2] We presume these sentiments were reciprocal.

especially Prayer Books. I have already distributed the few I carried from England with me am'g my 3 Congregations —which seems rather to increase their Demands.

I have since April 1768 till Nov. 1770 baptized 11 Adults and 119 Infants, married 17 Couples & buried 2. I have drawn on the Society's Treasurer for half year's Salary.

Nov 6th [Date of year not given,—presumably 1770.—R.]

Revd Sir,

In my last to the venerable Society among other particulars I made mention of a proposal made by two Gentlemen, John Grandin & Charles Coxe Esqrs of Kingwood; and in case my Letter should not have come to your hands, I now take the Liberty of repeating the sd proposal—viz. "That they will build a decent and comfortable Church on a lot of ground to be given by Charles Stewart a dissenting Gentleman in the neighborhood, for that purpose—providing the Society could otherwise order a Supply for Musconetcunk Congregation and indulge them with a third of my time." I also mentioned to the Society the many advantages resulting from such an Establishment—and as the Gentlemen are impatient to know the Society's Resolution in this respect, I should be glad you would inform me by the first good opportunity.

The state of my Mission at present is much the same as it was when I last wrote—Our church at Kingwood will, I hope, be finished by the Fall—I am

Revd Sir

Yours &c.

May 17th [1771?].

My Letter of 14th March 1772 contains nothing in particular except a few words about Messrs. Coxe & Grandin's Church &c.

While the English Army was in this Province my house was almost every night search'd for persons whom I had never seen, the Bayonet presented to my Breast, and my

Family, more than once, Robbed of Clothing and other necessaries; besides terrifying in the most cruel manner the dear Companion of my Life and Several small Children.—

MARRIAGE RECORD, 1768 TO 1795.

[We have rearranged the Marriage Record alphabetically for more convenient reference.]

A.

1772 Oct. 22 Anderson, Benjamin, to Ann Bird, Kingwood, N. J.
1779 Dec. 17 Anderson, James, to Jane Slack, Bucks, Pa.
1780 April 13 Acker, William, to Ann Moore, Amwell.
Oct. 1 Alkins, Thomas, to Margaret Rodman, Bucks, Pa.
1781 Sept. 13 Anderson, Daniel, to Fanny Anderson, Hopewell.
1783 June 10 Anderson, John, to Ann Van Kirk, Amwell.
1787 Mch. 26 Armory, John, Kingwood, to Catharine Vansickle, Amwell.
April 4 Anderson, Joshua, to Letitia Harvey, Bucks, Pa.

B.

1771 Oct. 29 Burwell, Jos., to Mary Robins, Kingwood. License.
1772 May 14 Bray, Daniel, to Mary Wolverton, Amwell.
1778 Jan. 9 Beans, Jonathan, to Rachel Rogers, Bucks, Pa.
Mch. 16 Bracker, Amos, to Edith Day, Bucks, Pa.
Aug. 6 Bye, Hezekiah, to Sarah Pellet, Bucks, Pa.
Dec. 2 Buckman, Abner, to Elizabeth Bailey, Bucks, Pa.
1779 April 8 Bray, John, to Rachel Rittenhouse, Amwell.
1780 Mch. 19 Birddale, Samuel, Amwell, to Elizabeth Canby, Bucks, Pa.
Nov. 21 Berry, William, to Sarah Harding, Amwell.
1781 July 27 Buckman, Benjamin, to Ann Jenny, Bucks, Pa.
Aug. 12 Buckman, William, to Sarah Freeman, Maidenhead, N. J.
1786 June 14 Buchanan, John, to Azebah Lake, Amwell.
1787 April 12 Bellis, John, to Ann Bear, Amwell.
July 5 Bake, Henry, to Mary Higgins, Amwell.
1789 Sept. 20 Burke, Edward, Trenton, to Elizabeth Downie, Amwell.
1791 Sept. 1 Barton, Mathias, Lancaster, Pa., to Hattie Cox, Bloomsbury, N. J.

C.

1769 Jan. 17 Connelly, Jas., to Ellen Kain, Mansfield Woodhouse. Published.
Nov. 15 Colquhoon, John, to Mary Brewer, Amwell. Published.
1770 May 27 Cooley, John, to Abigail Lippincott, Lebanon. Published.
1772 Mch. 25 Combs, Robert, to Hulda Combs, Woodbridge. License.

1778 Mch. 26 Carlile, Ebanezer, to Sarah Liverton, Amwell.
1779 Mch. 8 Carr, John, to Sarah Reed, Amwell.
1780 Jan. 16 Cadwalader, Benj., to Hannah Bradfield, Bucks, Pa.
Oct. 9 Case, John, to Margaret Buchanan, Amwell.
1781 July 10 Carson, John, to Mary Vancamp, Amwell.
1782 Feb. 4 Cox, Tench, Philadelphia, to Rebecca Cox, Hunterdon.
Feb. 26 Carter, Charles, to Alice Clark, Bucks, Pa.
May 30 Covenhoven, John, to Martha Higgins, Amwell.
Sept. 1 Case, Tunis, to Elizabeth Landis, Amwell.
Nov. 3 Card, Andrew, to Mary Cramer, Amwell.
1783 Feb. 22 Church, Joseph, to Mary Comfort, Bucks, Pa.
1785 Mch. 13 Cornell, William, to Catharine Miller, Amwell.
1786 May 17 Covenhoven, John, to Elenor Grandin, Lebanon, N. J.
1788 Aug. 21 Cooper, Gabriel, Bucks, Pa., to Elizabeth Hoppock, Amwell.
1789 July 18 Clarmont, James Le Roy, France, to Grace Cox, Sidney.
1790 Jan. 16 Covert, Bergen, Alexandria, to Ann Housel, Amwell.

D.

1778 April 29 Deverall, John, to Ann Reed, Amwell.
1779 July 13 Decou, Isaac, to Rachel Postlethwaite, Trenton, N. J.
1785 May 22 Dunn, Isaac May, Philadelphia, to Abigail Tweedy, Lamberton.
1789 Sept. 20 Doan, Joseph, to Mary Connard, Bucks, Pa.
1790 June 27 Dilts, George, to Mary Kuhl, Amwell.
1791 Aug. 7 Dougherty, John, to Ann Foster, Trenton, N. J.

E.

1783 July 30 Ent, Daniel, to Elizabeth Douglas, Amwell.
1786 Nov. 27 Eli, Abner, to Hannah Lacey, Bucks, Pa.

F.

1769 Aug. 19 Forman, Dr. Aaron, to Ann Emley, Kingwood. License.
1777 Oct. 4 Fell, Samuel, to Thamer Russell, Bucks, Pa.
1779 Oct. 17 Furnace, Thomas, to Mary Hill, Bucks, Pa.
1780 Jan. 22 Fell, Lenos, to Elizabeth Brown, Bucks, Pa.
Dec. 24 Fox, Peter, to Elizabeth Ross, Amwell.
1781 Nov. 18 Farriel, Francis, to Jane Douglas, Bucks, Pa.
1786 May 4 Featherby, Nathaniel, to Jane Harvey, Bucks, Pa.

G.

1768 Sept. 29 Gordon, Robert, to Rebecca Clifford, Bethlehem. Published.
1769 Sept. 29 Graham, Robert, to Susannah Hall, Amwell.
1777 Dec. 22 Godown, John, to Mary Rounsavell, Amwell.
1778 Aug. 18 Green, William, to Mary Stewart, Bucks, Pa.

1779 Sept. 23 Godown, Evan, to Rachel Rounsavell, Amwell.
1780 Feb. 1 Gurten, James, to Elizabeth Tomlison, Bucks, Pa.
May 7 Graff, Samuel, to Christine Fulper, Amwell.
June 8 Gilbert, Stephens, to Parmelia Whitten, Bucks, Pa.
1781 Feb. 15 Geary, Peter, to Ann Pegg, Amwell.
Mch. 7 Gillespie, Samuel, to Myrtilla Denormandie, Bristol, Pa
1782 May 9 Gordon, Thomas, to Mary Leovy, Bucks, Pa.
1783 Nov. 27 Godown, Jacob, to Sarah Lake, Amwell.
1790 Jan. 13 Gray, Joseph, to Hannah Atkinson, Amwell.

H.

1778 Jan. 12 Huesley, Ezekiel, to Mary Brown, Bucks, Pa.
Aug. 9 Hoagland, Derrick, to Catharine Robins, Amwell.
1780 June 19 Harvey, John, to Margaret Harvey, Bucks, Pa.
June 29 Haines, Joseph, to Ann Moore, Amwell.
Sept. 17 Hull, Thomas, to Rebecca Sherman, Bucks, Pa.
Nov. 16 Hoagland, William, to Mary Brewer, Amwell.
1781 Sept. 17 Holcombe, Samuel, to Sarah Emley, Amwell.
1782 Jan. 10 Headley, John, to Ursula Longshore, Pennsylvania.
Jan. 15 Hough, John, to Hannah Watson, Bucks, Pa.
Mch. 7 Humphreys, Daniel, Philadelphia, to Jane Pinkerton, Trenton.
April 11 Hellings, Robert, to Parmelia Opdyke, Bucks, Pa.
Sept. 1 Housel, Jacob, to Ruth Roberts, Amwell.
1783 May 29 Holcombe, Thomas, to Mary Holcombe, Amwell.
Oct. 16 Hendricks, Nicholas, Sussex, to Catharine Mershon, Amwell.
1784 April 11 Harvey, Thomas, to Rachael Merrill, Amwell.
Oct. 18 Higgins, Nathaniel, to Martha Perrine, Amwell.
1785 May 4 Hunt, Abraham, Trenton, to Mary Dagworthy, Elizabethtown, N. J.
May 31 Heath, Joseph, to Sarah Robbins, Amwell.
July 16 Hyde, George, Kingwood, to Sarah Smith, widow, Amwell.
Aug. 18 Harvey, Abraham, to Jane Gregg, Bucks, Pa.
Nov. 17 Higgins, Jonathan, to Mary Reading, Amwell.
1786 Dec. 19 Hoppock, Joseph, to Anna Moore, Amwell.
1787 May 15 Hoagland, Abraham, to Susannah Nevius, Amwell.
June 20 Hill, Samuel, to Sarah Trout, Amwell.
1791 Jan. 27 Hagaman, Aaron, to Charity Sutphin, Amwell.
1792 July 31 Hoff, Jacob, to Elizabeth Creamer, Philadelphia.
Oct. 27 Hiltzimen, Thomas, Philadelphia, to Theodosia Imlay, Trenton, N. J.
1793 Jan. 16 Hart, Asa, Hopewell, to Abigail Rows, Amwell.
April 28 Heister, Jacob, to Dipholt, Trenton.

J.

1779 Sept. 23 Johnson, Martin, to Ann Trout, Amwell.
1783 Oct. 16 Johnson, Samuel, to Hepzibah Carey, Bucks, Pa.
1793 April 14 Jones, Henry, to Sarah Cowell, Trenton.

K.

1770 Jan. 15 Kester, Paul, to Hannah Beans, Buckingham, Pa.
Mch. 19 Kitchen, Henry, to Elizabeth Jewell, Amwell,
1779 Dec. 17 Kitchen, Wm., to Sarah Lee, Bucks, Pa.
1780 Nov. 16 Kenny, Nicholas, to Merrian Nicholas, Amwell.
1782 Mch. 16 Kitchen, James, to Ede Wells, Salisbury, Bucks, Pa.
1783 June 6 Kitchen, John, to Hannah Ely, Bucks, Pa.
1789 July 12 Kinsey, John, to Patience Sacket, Bucks, Pa.

L.

1768 Dec. 26 Lake, Abraham, Greenwich, to Elizabeth Lock, Bethlehem. Published.
1769 Feb. 20 Lunger, Jacob, to Julia Hulsizer, Mansfield Woodhouse.
1770 April 26 Lowrey, Nathaniel, to Mary Lee, Flemington. License.
Sept. 9 Livingston, Robert R., to Mary Stevens, New York. License.
1777 Oct. 6 Lukens, Seneca, Bucks, Pa., to Sarah Quimby, Amwell.
1778 April 15 Large, Stephen, to Elizabeth Golden, Bucks, Pa.
May 10 Landis, Joseph, to Sarah Calvin, Amwell.
Aug. 6 Larew, Abraham, to Hannah Hull, Amwell.
Dec. 17 Louderback, Frederick, to Elizabeth Horn, Amwell.
1779 Sept. 15 Lewis, Thomas, to Ruth Doan, Bucks, Pa.
1780 Jan. 14 Lowrey, Wm., Flemington, to Martha Howe, Trenton.
Sept. 12 Lewis, John, Bucks, Pa., to Rachel Fox, Kingwood.
Nov. 7 Landis, Samuel, Amwell, to Hannah Heath, Bucks, Pa.
1781 Feb. 8 Leech, Isaac, Philadelphia, to Sarah Holcombe, Amwell.
Mch. 1 Low, Cornelius, to Rachel Burroughs, Amwell.
July 17 Lisk, Abraham, to Jane Thompson, Amwell.
Nov. 1 Labaw, Charles, to Mary Hull, Amwell.
1783 July 27 Lake, Isaac, to Elizabeth Godown, Amwell.
1784 Dec. 4 Longshore, Levi, to Sarah Sutton, Bucks, Pa.
1785 May 8 Lambert, Joseph, to Mary Tyson, Amwell.
1789 Nov. 1 Ludwick, Simon, Trenton, to Elizabeth Hanna, Amwell.
1790 July 20 List, John, to Rachel Quick, Amwell.
Nov. 20 Luske, Jacob, to Hannah Vansickel, Amwell.

M.

1772 May 14 Meredith, Hugh, to Mary Todd, Bucks, Pa.
1777 Oct. 25 Moore, Elisha, to Mary Moore, Hopewell.

1778 Aug. 8 Masking, Henry, to Ruth Harman, Bucks, Pa.
1780 Oct. 5 Martindell, Miles, to Susannah Harvey, Bucks, Pa.
1781 Feb. 15 Moore, Stephen, to Martha Burroughs, Amwell.
1782 Jan. 9 Miller, John, to Mary Winter, Amwell.
May 23 Mathews, Henry, to Rosannah Wolverton, Bucks, Pa.
1783 May 24 Moore, Abraham, to Ann Lawshe, Amwell.
May 28 Marts, William, to Elizabeth Snook, Amwell.
Sept. 17 Martin, Silas, to Hannah Cooper, Bucks, Pa.
1784 Dec. 26 Meldrum, Robert, to Kesiah Higgins, Amwell.
1785 Mch. 15 Morgan, Andrew, to Margaret Ketchum, Hopewell.
May 29 Morrice, Richard, to Charity Parker, Somerset.
June 5 Newburn, Jonathan, to Ann Brown, Bucks, Pa.
1788 Jan. 6 Mitchel, Aaron, to Hannah Hunt, Trenton.
Mch. 4 Moore, Charles, to Alice Moore, Amwell.
1789 Jan. 11 Moore, Joseph, to Hannah Landis, Amwell.
Sept. 6 Marsellus, John H., to Joice Stockton, Bucks, Pa.
1790 July 6 Marsh, Isaac, to Elenor Griggs, Amwell.
1792 May 12 Menaugh, Neil, to Abigil Conner, Hopewell.
1793 May 10 McCraight, Joseph, to Margaret Hart, Trenton.

N.

1779 Jan. 28 Newport, James, to Margaret Sparks, Philadelphia.

P.

1778 April 26 Phillips, Isaac, to Ann Sharp, Amwell.
1779 May 19 Peters, John, to Rachel Pownell, Bucks, Pa.
Oct. 24 Polhemus, Cornelius, to Mary Mershon, Amwell.
1780 Jan. 31 Plumley, Jacob, to Jane Gonger, Amwell.
May 31 Pownal, George, to Elizabeth Lee, Bucks, Pa.
Oct. 25 Paxson, Moses, to Mary Pownal, Bucks, Pa.
1787 April 5 Pegg, David, to Euphremia Jones, Amwell.
1791 Jan. 30 Price, Noah, to Lena Sutphin, Amwell.

Q.

1772 July 2 Quick, Cornelius, Greenwich, to Elizabeth Quimby, Kingwood. License.
Oct. 29 Quick, Jacob, to Jerusha Rose, Amwell.
1788 April 18 Quick, William, to Charity Busombery, Amwell.
1789 Feb. 4 Quick, Cornelius, to Ann Johnson, Amwell.

R.

1769 Jan. 17 Rice, James, to Esther Smith, Mansfield Woodhouse. Published.
1770 Mch. 3 Reynolds, Thomas, to Martha Pownal, Amwell. Published.

1770 Mch. 19 Robbins, Benjamin, to Ruth Bradfield, Bucks, Pa. License.
1777 Oct. 26 Robbins, Amos, to Ruth Barnes, Amwell.
1778 May 17 Robbins, John, to Catharine Pegg, Amwell.
Nov. 9 Rice, Thomas, to Mary Hartley, Bucks, Pa.
1779 Dec. 19 Rounsavell, Fregift, to Allemina Godown, Amwell.
1780 June 28 Robbins, John, to Grace Runyan, Amwell.
Oct. 26 Rittenhouse, Joseph, to Ann Wright, Amwell.
1781 Jan. 10 Rockhill, John, Pittstown, to Elizabeth Ross, Amwell.
Mch. 15 Rounsavell, Henry, to Elizabeth Heath, Amwell.
Aug. 9 Russell, Malichi, to Denah Kitchen, Amwell.
1782 Oct. 30 Rutherford, Esq., John, to Helena Morris, Amwell.
1786 Nov. 2 Rockafellow, Andrew, to Hannah Hixon, Amwell.
Nov. 20 Roberts, Michael, Philadelphia, to Fanny Lourie, Alexandria.
1789 Mch. 1 Reading, Joseph, to Martha Hill, Amwell.
1790 Aug. 27 Rockhill, John, to Gaynor Polls [Potts], Kingwood.
Dec. 6 Rippon, William, to Esther Minon, Trenton.
1793 June 9 Runyan, John, to Rebecca Landis, Amwell.

S.

1772 Jan. 19 Skelton, Thomas, to Elizabeth Lourey, Flemington. License.
1777 Nov. 16 Stout, Samuel, to Delilah Runyan, Amwell.
1778 April 14 South, Hill, to Sarah Liverton, Amwell.
Nov. 8 Smith, John, to Ann Dilts, Amwell.
1781 July 26 Snook, Jr., John, to Hannah Coolback, Amwell.
Sept. 20 Smith, Ephraim, to Rebecca Lewis, Bucks, Pa.
1782 June 13 Stevenson, John, to Catharine Corshon, Amwell.
July 28 Smith, Samuel, to Margaret Anderson, Amwell.
1783 May 18 Scarborough, John, to Elizabeth Kelley, Bucks, Pa.
June 30 Smith, Joseph, to Elizabeth Patterson, Readington.
1784 Feb. 3 Stout, Fregift, to Sendora Gordon, Amwell.
April 25 Shafer, John, to Margaret Kemple, Amwell.
1785 Dec. 15 Sutton, Amos, to Jane Robbins, Amwell.
1786 Mch. 16 Schenck, Jacob, to Elenor Vanmarter, Amwell.
Dec. 7 Smith, Burroughs, to Elenor Craven, Amwell.
1787 Jan. 11 Simson, John, to Agnes Miller, Bucks, Pa.
1788 Mch. 4 Smith, Phineas, to Catharine Vanhise, Amwell.
Sept. 6 Sutton, Nathan, to Elizabeth Robbins, Amwell.
1789 Nov. 15 Stives, William, to Catharine Vanois, Somerset.
1793 Mch. 18 Stille, Delare P., to Mrs. Beulah Wharton, Trenton.
Sept. 8 Sicard, Juli Augustine, to Ann Rogers, Trenton.

T.

1778 May 9 Tomlinson, Joseph, to Hannah Sidetons, Bucks, Pa.
1779 Jan. 31 Taylor, William, Amwell, to Catharine Wagner, Alexandria.
Oct. 9 Templer, Peter, to Martha Severns, Amwell.
1780 Sept. 14 Taylor, Timothy, to Achsa Johnson, Bucks, Pa.
1784 Oct. 21 Throckmorton, Richard, to Margaret Howe, Trenton.
1785 May 27 Thomas, Lewis, to Margaret Casewell, Trenton.
1786 Dec. 17 Taylor, Samuel, Chester, Pa., to Ann Birdsall, Amwell.

V.

1780 Feb. 2 Vancourt, Moses, Philadelphia, to Louisa Denormandie, Bristol, Pa.
Sept. 17 Vancamp, Gilbert, to Charity Thatcher, Kingwood.
1782 Oct. 13 Vandyke, Dominicas, to Hannah Rous, Amwell.
1783 Oct. 16 Vanhorn, Cornelius, Readington, to Elizabeth Hoppock, Amwell.
1785 Feb. 27 Vanuxem, Benjamin, to Catharine Dilts, Amwell.

W.

1769 Oct. 19 Wright, Sebastian, to Peg De Normandie, Bristol, Pa.
1770 May 10 Williamson, Wm., to Mary Sutphin, Amwell. Published.
Aug. 19 Wall, George, to Sarah Kitchen, Bucks, Pa. Published.
1778 Mch. 23 Wilson, Isaac, to Rebecca Blackwell, Bucks, Pa.
1779 Jan. 3 Wolverton, John, to Rachel Quimby, Amwell.
Aug. 19 Wurts, Maurice Morris, to Sarah Williamson, Amwell.
1781 April 29 Willet, David, to Ann Runyan, Amwell.
Aug. 12 Wikoff, Jacob, to Susannah Allen, Amwell.
Sept. 19 Walker, Jonathan, to Jane Low, Amwell.
1784 Dec. 26 Williamson, Peter, to Charity Qulick, Amwell.
1787 Jan. 4 Wolverton, Nathaniel, to Parmelia Hudnit, Amwell.
1789 Feb. 22 Wikoff, Nicholas, to Susannah Flagg, Somerset.
1793 Oct. 27 Williams, John, to Sarah Munday, Trenton.

Y.

1780 Jan. 24 York, James, to Margaret Weddock.
1784 Dec. 7 Young, Aaron, to Catharine Larison, Amwell.
1786 April 9 Young, Peter, Lebanon, to Magdalene Rockafellow, Amwell.
1787 April 5 Yoagley, Andrew, to Sarah Davis, Amwell.

BAPTISMAL RECORD, 1768 TO 1772.

1768.

May 12 Ransalaer, the 2nd chd. of Ransalaer & —— Williams, of Trenton.

June 5 Rachel, an adult [probably colored] of Musconetcunc.

" 5 Isaac, the 2nd chd. of Isaac & —— Betsel of Lebanon [Hunterdon Co.].

" 19 Ellenor, 3d chd. of Daniel & Mary Cahill of Quakertown [Hunterdon Co.].

" 20 William, Abel, and Dinah, 6th, 7th, and 8th chdn. of William & Elizabeth Lake, of Kingwood [Hunterdon Co.].

" 20 William, the 2nd. chd. of Samuel & Mary Pew, of Roxbury.

" 26 Thomas, 9th chd. of Richard & Mary Bowlby, of Mansfield Woodhouse [Sussex, now Warren Co.].

" 26 Hannah, the 8th chd. of Edmund & Hannah Palmer of Mansfield Woodhouse.

" 26 John, the 3d. chd. of Samuel & Sarah Coleman of Mansfield Woodhouse.

Aug. 7 Elizabeth, the 1st. chd. of James & Ann Smith of Bethlehem [Hunterdon Co.].

Sept. 25 Pamela [Permelia?] 1st. chd. of John & Mary Schooley of Greenwich [Sussex Co.].

" 25 Sarah, 1st. chd. of Jediah & Elizabeth Schooley of Greenwich.

Oct. 16 Esther, 3d. chd. of John & Sarah Crawford, of Kingwood.

" 16 Samuel, chd. of —— & —— Fits of Kingwood.

Nov. 13 John, 3d. chd. of Thomas & Sarah Bowlby of Mansfield Woodhouse.

" 13 Sarah, 4th chd. of Samuel & Elizabeth Bowlby of Mansfield Woodhouse.

" 13 George, 13th chd. of Richard & Mary Bowlby of Mansfield Woodhouse.

" 27 Ann and James, 1st & 2d chdn. of Job & Martha Throckmorton of Kingwood.

Dec. 4 Hannah, Martha and Katharine, 1st, 2nd and 3d. chdn. of Samuel & Mary Severns of Greenwich.

" 25 John, 4th chd. of Peter & Jane Bowlby of Bethlehem.

" 25 Thomas, 4th chd. of Samuel & Sarah Coleman of Mansfield Woodhouse.

" 25 Ann, 3d. chd. of Samuel & Elizabeth Bowlby of Mansfield Woodhouse.

Dec. 25 Micajah, Charles, Theodosia and Achsah, 1st. 2nd 3d and 4th chdn. of Joseph & Sarah Park of Mansfield Woodho.

" 26 Elizabeth and Frances, 1st. and 2nd. chdn. of John & Mary Cunningham of Greenwich.

1769.

Jan. 15 Absalom and Sarah, 4th and 7th chdn. of Benjamin & Alice Wilcox of Greenwich.

" 15 John and William, 7th, and 8th chdn. of Jonathan & Deborah Pettit of Phillipsburg [Sussex Co.].

" 15 Jonathan and John, 1st. and 2nd chdn. of Nathaniel & Margaret Pettit of Phillipsburg.

" 29 Ann, 1st. chd. of Nicholas & Dorothy Morris of Kingwood.

Feb. 5 Sarah and Richard, 2nd, and 4th chdn. of Nathan & Mary Park of Mansfield Woodhouse.

" 19 Thomas, 3d chd. of John & Ahitophel Lee, of Lebanon.

" 26 Ellenor and Ann, 1st and 2nd. chd. of William & Ellenor Ledlie of Easton, Pa.

" 27 John and Joseph, 1st and 4th chdn. of Isaac & Elizabeth Jerid [Gerard?] of Bethlehem.

" 27 Elizabeth, 5th chd. of Gershom and Alice Barnes of Bethlehem.

" 27 William, 6th chd. of Henry & Sophia Young of Greenwich.

" 27 Isaac, 4th chd. of John & Hannah Everhortpence, of Bethlehem.

March 19 Charles, 5th chd. of Peter & Jane Barclay, of Bethlehem.

" 24 Andrew Pierce an adult married man, Amwell [Hunterdon Co.].

" 24 Amelia, Rachel, Johanna, Thomas and Lewis chdn. of Andrew and Mercy Pierce, of Amwell.

April 9 Jonathan, Samuel, Mary, and Elizabeth, chdn. of Joseph & Mary Hill of Bethlehem.

" 9 John, Samuel, Mary, Elizabeth, William and Katharine, chdn. of William & Ann Hibler, of Bethlehem.

" 30 Katharine, wife of Samuel Wiggins, of Hardwick [Sussex Co.].

" 30 Thomas and William, chd. of Samuel & Katharine Wiggins, of Hardwick.

May 21 Elizabeth and Ann, chdn. of Wm. & Hannah Corns of Greenwich.

" 21 Daniel, Susannah, Mary, and John, chdn. of Lanty & Susannah Shannon of Greenwich.

" 21 Abigail, Jane, and Esther, chdn. of Michael & Sarah Henry of Greenwich.

" 28 Elizabeth, chd. of John & Elizabeth Lewis of Amwell.

" 30 Sarah, nat: child of Sarah Yauger of Amwell, God Father Dr. Versilius, alias "Red-cheek Doctor"; God Mother, Anna Cathn. Cook.

May 30 Mary, natural child of Sarah Adams, Mansfield Woodhouse.
June 11 Sidney, chd. of William & Sarah Adams of Mansfield Woodhouse.
" 11 James, Rebecca, and Catharine, chdn. of John & Catharine Bowlby, of Mansfield Woodhouse.
July 2 Sarah & Joseph, 7th & 8th chdn. of Henry & Jane Kitchen of Greenwich.
" 2 Joseph, chd. of Thomas & Ann Beers of Phillipsburg.
" 2 William, chd. of Ebenezer & Mary Beers of Greenwich.
" 23 John, chd. of Brian & Elizabeth O'Brian of Lebanon.
" 23 Sarah, chd. of James & Ann Smith, of Bethlehem.
" 23 Hannah, chd. of Samuel & Mary Pew of Roxbury.
" 27 John, chd. of John & Mary Crawford, of Kingwood.
" 27 John and Charity, chdn. of John & Mary Connor, of Alexandria [Hunterdon Co.].
Oct. 18 John, chd. of John & Mary Cloghar, of Bristol, Pa.
" 19 William, chd. of Joseph & Bridget Bruton, of Bristol, Pa.
" 19 Joseph, natural child of Joseph McIlvaine & Katharine Swan of Bristol, Pa.
" 29 Rachel, wife of William Hunt, of Kingwood.
" 29 Charity, an adult child of Mansfield & —— Hunt of Kingwood.
Nov. 26 Susannah, wife of John Cogle [Cougle?] of Mansfield Woodhouse.
" 26 Mary and Ann, chdn. of John & Susannah Cogle of Mansfield Woodhouse.
Dec. 25 John, chd. of Nicholas & Dorothy Morris of Kingwood.
" 25 Elizabeth, chd. of John & Ahitophel Lee, of Lebanon.

1770.

May 10 Charles Park an adult married man, Bethlehem.
" 10 Ann and Samuel, chdn. of Charles & Catharine Park of Bethlehem.
" 10 William and Ann, chdn. of Edmund & Mary Bowman of Bethlehem.
June 4 John Albertson a married man of Knowlton, Sussex Co.
" 4 Cornelius, chd. of John & Charity Albertson, of Knowlton.
" 4 Daniel, chd. of John & Judith Butler of Knowlton.
" 4 Joseph, chd. of William & Hannah Stringer, of Knowlton.
" 4 John, chd. of Robert & Ann Allison, of Knowlton.
" 18 Andrew, chd. of John & Mary Colquhoon, of Amwell.
July 8 Mary, wife of James Piette [Pyatte?] of Alexandria.
" 8 Benjamin, chd. of James & Mary Piette, of Alexandria.
Aug. 5 Mary, wife of Wheeler Kitchen, of Greenwich.

Aug. 5 Jane, wife of Henry Kitchen, of Greenwich.
" 5 Richard, William and John, chdn. of Wheeler & Mary Kitchen, of Greenwich.

1771.

Feb. 24 Rachel, chd. of Philip & Ellenor Grandin of Lebanon.
June 16 James Baird, chd. of Edmund & Hannah Palmer of Mansfield Woodhouse.
" 23 Elizabeth, chd. of Samuel & Sarah Coleman, of Mansfield Woodhouse.
" 23 Mary, chd. of Thomas & Martha Reynolds, of Amwell.
" 23 Rebecca, chd. of Cornelius & Rebecca Prall of Amwell.
July 21 Penelope, chd. of
" 21 Ellenor, chd. of William & Elizabeth Reynolds, of Kingwood.

1772.

March 22 William, son of Revd. Will: & Rebecca Frazer of Amwell. God Fathers: Abm. Cottman Esq. and Colin Campbell Esq. God Mothers: Mrs. Mary Campbell and Mrs. Elizabeth Cottman.
April 22 Buried Lewis Stevens Esq. of Cornwall, Alexandria.
May 17 Baptized, Richard, 3d chd. of Edmund & Mary Bowman of Bethlehem.
" 17 Delia, 1st. chd. of James & Margaret Farrar, of Bethlehem.
July 12 Thomas, 3d. chd. of John & Hannah Everhortpence of Alexandria.
Aug. 2 Mary, James & Ann, chd. of James & Jane Smith of Amwell.
" 9 James, 6th chd. of Ghershom & Alice Barnes of Bethlehem.
" 9 James, 3d. chd. of Charles & Catharine Park, of Bethlehem.
Oct. 25 Isabel, the chd. of —— and —— Alexander of Kingwood.
" 31 Elizabeth, Frances & Jane, chdn. of Thomas & Frances Thomson, of Potterstown [Hunterdon Co.].

ESSAY OF AN ONONDAGA GRAMMAR, OR A SHORT INTRODUCTION TO LEARN THE ONONDAGA *AL.* MAQUA TONGUE.

By Rev. David Zeisberger.

CONTRIBUTED BY JOHN W. JORDAN.

(Continued from page 75.)

Præs			*Præs*		
sing.	wakhége or khége,	*I see*		Junkhíge	*I am seen*
	waschége or sage,	*you* "		Jetshíge	*you are* "
	hóye	*he* "		t'huwáge	*he is* "
	óge or jóge	*she* "		guwáge	*she is* "
plur.	unquáge—	*we* "	plur.	tiuncquáge	*we are seen*
	s'wage	*ye* "		Jets'wáge	*ye* " "
	hotige	*they* "		thuwatige	*they* " "
	quntige	*they* (*fem*) "		guwatige (fem)	*they* " "

Perf			*Perf.*		
sing.	wakgéhha or khegehha			Junkigéhha	*I have been seen.*
	Sagéhha, *you have seen*			Jetsigéhha	*you* " " "
	Sogéhha	*he has seen*		t'huwagéhha	*he has* " "
	ogéhha	*she* " "		guwagéhha	*she* " " "
plur.	Unquagéhha	*we have* "	plur.	tiunquagéhha,	*we have* " "
	S'wagéhha	*ye* " "		jets'wagéhna,	*ye* " " "
	hotigéhha	*they* " "		t'huwatigéhha	*they* " " "
	guntigéhha (fem)	*they* " "		guwatigéhha	*they* " " "

future.			*future.*	
sing	'nkhéga	*I shall see*	sing.	'njunkhige *I will be seen*
	'nsage	*you* " "		'njetschige &c as the Præs
	'nhoge	*he* " "		'n prefixed.
	'njoge	*she* " "		
plur.	'njunquaque	*we* " "		
	'nswage	*ye* " "		

Imperative			*Imperat.*	
Præs. sing.	assage or asshege,	*see you*	sing.	ajetschige *be you seen*
pl.	as'wage *see ye*		pl.	ajets'wage *be ye seen*
fut. sing.	n'ashege	*you shall see*	fut. sing.	n'ajetshige *you shall be seen*
	n'ahoge	*he* " "		n'at'huwáge *he shall be seen*

n'ajoge	*she shall see*		n'aguwage *she shall be seen*
pl. n'as'wáge	*ye* " "		plur. najets'wáge *ye shall be seen*
nahotige	*they* " "		n'ahuwatige *they shall be seen*
n'aguntige (fem)	*they* " "		n'aguwatige (fem) *they shall be seen*

Wato, to say.

Infinitive

Præs. Wato, *to say*
Perf. watóchne *to have said*
fut. 'nwáto *dicturus esse*

Præs.

sing. gáto *I say*
Sáto *you* "
háto *he says*
wáto *she* "
pl. unquáto *we say*
Swáto, *ye say*
hunnato, *they say*, or Iŏnto, *it is said*
ogŭnto instead gunnáto (fem) *they say*

Perf.

sing. gatóchne *I have said*
satóchne *you* " "
hatóchne *he has* "
watóchne *she* " "
plur. unquatóchne *we said*
s'watóchne *ye said*
hunnatóchne *they said*
oguntóchne or gunnatochne

Future.

sing. 'ngáto	*I will or shall say*		
'nsato	*you*	"	"
'nhato	*he*	"	"
'nwato	*she*	"	"
plur. 'nt'wato	*we*	"	"
'ns'wáto	*you*	"	"
'nhunnato	*they*	"	"

'ngŭnto or 'nguñáto (fem) *they*

Imperative.

Præs.

sing. assáto, *say thou*
plur. ass'wato, *say ye*

Future Imperative

sing.	n'assáto,	*you shall or will say*	
	n'aháto	*he* "	"
	n'awáto	*she* "	"
plur.	n'ass'wato	*ye* "	"
	n'ahunnàto	*they* "	"

n'agunto or n'aguñato (fem) *they shall or will say*

Second Conjugation

Those Verbs that have a *jod* on the second or even the third Syllable, throw it away thro' all tenses or rather change it in *i* and where in the first Rule the Pronoun in the second Person is *sa* and *se*, it is in this *schi* or tschi. e.g. *Ticjac* or *Waëjac* to cut, break, divide.

Præs. sing.	Wagiac *I cut*	also:	jcjátowa
	schaic or tschiac *you cut*		jcjátote
	wahajac *he cuts*		jcjátahawi
	wagojac *she cuts*		wojadosko.
plur.	unquajac or t'wajac, *we*	*Wajéhne*,	wagiehne, schiehne, hojehre
	s'wajac *ye*	*wajĕntac*,	wagiĕntac, schiĕntac, hojentac
	hotijac *they*	*wajenewásch*,	wagienewasth, schiehnewasch, hojenewasch
	guntijac (fem) *they*		
Perf. sing.	Wagiáki, *I have cut*	*wajenewácu*,	wagienewacu, schienewácu, hojenewácu.
	Schiáki, *you*		
	hojaki, *he*	*jcji'ntwi*,	wagientwi, schientwi, hojintwi.
	gojáki *she*		
plur.	unqua or t'wajaki, *we*	*wajichte*,	wagiichte, washi or scheichte, hojicte.
	S'wajaki *ye*	*wacjaqua*,	wagiaqua, schiaqua, hojat
	hotijáki *they*	*jcjatschi*,	giatschi, schiatschi, hojat
	guntijáki (fem) *they*	*jejinteri*,	gienteri or gejinteri, schienteri, hajinteri
Fut. sing.	'ngiác		
	'ntschiác	*waëjatáchto*	wagiatáchto, schiatáchto, hojatachto
	'nt'hajac	(Can in 2d also be sajatachto.)	
	'jagohát		
plur.	'nt'wajac		
	'nhotijac		
	'nguntijac		

Note. Some preserve the tot. as: *waejanori.* gajanori, saja, haja, unquaja—

swajanori, hotijanori.
wajuntiacherong, gajuntiacherong,- sajun,- hajun, t'wajun-s'wa-hoti-
wacjatŏnti. sajatŏnti.

3d Conjugation

Those beginning with T keep it in Præs & perf. but omit it in the future Tense as: *Tajejagăenha*, to rise.

Præs. sing.	t'gajagăenha	*Perf. sing.*	t'gajagaenhóchqua
	tessajagănha		tessajagaenhochque
	t'hajagăenha		t'haja " " " &c.
plur.	t'wajagăenta		
	tess'wajagănha	*Fut. sing.*	'ngajagăenha
	t'hotijagaenha		'nsajagaenha
			'nhajagaenha
		plur.	'nt'wajagaenha

Tajejáchiac, t'gajachiac, tessajachiac-t'ha-t'wa-tess'wa-t'hotijachiac
Tajejataenha, t'gajatăenha, tessaja-t'ha-t'wa-tessiva-t'hotijataĕnha
Tajejatórichte, t'gajatorichte, " " " " t'hotijatorichte
Tiátera. t'giatera, tessiatera, t'hatera, t'watera, tess'watera, t'hotiatera.
Tiorachtat. t'garachtat, tessarach - t'harach - t'warach - tess'wa - t'hotirachta.
Tionochrochquánnie. tgenochr-tessarochr-t'honochr-t'wanochr-tess'wanochr-t'hotinochrochquannie.
Tajegachrà
Tioquatos
Tioquitura
Tiomtontaricta
Tiotochquŏs
Tinntotarichschia.

Wathónte, *to hear.*

sing.	Gathónte, *I*	*hear*
	Sathŏnte, *you*	"
	hothónte, *he*	*hears*
	gothonte, *she*	"
plur.	Unquathónte,	*we hear*
	S'wathŏnte,	*ye* "
	hunnathŏnte,	*they* "
	gunnathŏnte (fem),	*they* "

Perfect.

sing.	Gathontéchqua, *I have heard.*	
	Sathontéchqua, *you*	"
	hothontéchqua, *he*	"
	gothontéchqua, *she*	"
plur.		

Future.

sing. 'ngathŏnte, *I shall or will hear.*
'nsathŏnte, *you* " " "

Wazódho, and all beginning the second syll. with *z* follow this rule.

tentawachtœndi
tentawatakhe.
jawi, giawi, Sáwi, hawi, unquáwi, S'wawi, hunawi.

These have in the third person *hun* or *hunna* præfixed and in the feminine *gun* or *gunna.*

Watgóta *perf.* watgotáchqua.
watequacht *perf.* watequachta.
watewacht, *perf* watewachta.
watăenha, " watanháchqua.
wátie, " watiechqua,
wachtăendi, " wachtăendiŭng.
wate or untecóni " unteconihachqua.

all reciprocal Verbs, *e.g.*

untaterió, *perf.* untatcrióchne
untatta ēsta, " untatacstaehqua.
untatenoróchqua, *love one another.*
untatrehne
untatĕro, *to hew oneself.*
untatenochrochquánnie, *to salute one another.*
untatenigorhate, *cheat one another.*
untattawi, *to give one another and many more.*

The following belong to the first Rule too, but have in the third Person plur. *hoti* or *hati* with altering the perfect.

Jonorochqua,
Jonhóto, jonhotónqua.
waēsta, wachniota.
wagewa, waniōta
jonuwaz, wanaz
wachraēnge, jonigorhati.
Echnak, Erashe.
jéchsai, jonháchta
wagechte jechseróni
jechsaróni, enáwi
jeháwi jonóchto
waēraeu enaqu

wachgaéntha.

gaje, soje, hoje, unquaje, s'waje, hotije, tajonhe, gónhe, sonhe, rónhe unquónhe, s'wonhe, hotinhe.

Waonojichte, throws away the *o* in the 2[d] syll. and is wagaenojichte or gaenojechte.

saenojichte
honojichte
pl. unquaeno—swae—hotinojichte.
perf. wagaenojichtacherong.

Tajegochra, *to look on.*

	Active	*Passive*
Infin. Præs.	Tajegachra, *to look at or on.*	guwagachra, *to be looked at or on.*
Inf. Perf.	Taiegachrahha, *to have looked.*	guwagachránha, *to have been looked at or on.*
" *fut.*	'ntajegachrà, *to shall look on.*	'nguwagachrà, *to be looked on.*

	Præs.			*Præs.*
sing.	tekgachrà,	*I look on.*	*sing.*	Junkigachrà, *I am looked at or on.*
	tesgachrá,	*you* "		jetsigachrà, *you are looked at or on.*
	t'hogachrà,	*he* "		t'huwagachrà, *he is looked at or on.*
	tiagogachrà,	*she* "		t'guwagachrà, *she is looked at or on.*
plur.	t'wagochrà,	*we* "	*plur.*	tiunquagachrà, *we are looked at or on.*
	tesswagachrà,	*ye* "		jets'wagachrà, *ye are looked at or on.*
	t'hotigachrà,	*they* "		t'huwatigachrà, *they are looked at or on.*
	t'guntigachrà,	(*fem*) *they look on.*		t'guwatigachrà, (*fem*) *they are looked at or on.*

	Perf.		*Perf.*
sing.	Tekgachránha, *I have looked on.*	*sing.*	Tunkigachránha, *I have been looked on.*
	tergachránha, *you have looked on.*		getsigachránha, *you are*
	t'hogachránha, *he has looked on.*		t'huwagachránha,
	tingogachránha, *we have looked on.*		t'guwagachránha,

plur t'wagachrànha, *we have looked on.*
tess'wagachrànha, *ye have looked on.*
t'hotigachrànha, *they have looked on.*
t'guntigachrànha (*fem*) *they have looked on.*

plur. tiunquagachránha, *we have been looked on.*
jetsigachránha, *ye have been looked on.*
t'huwagachránha, *they have been looked on.*
t'guwatigachránha, *they have been looked on.*

Future.

sing. 'Nkgachrà, *I shall or will look on.*
'nsgachrà, *you shall or will look on.*
'nt'hogachrà, *he shall or will look on.*
'njegachrà, *she shall or will look on.*
plur. 'nt'wagachrà, *we shall or will look on.*
'ns'wagachrà, *ye shall or will look on.*
'nt'hotigachrà, *they shall or will look on.*
'ntigungachra, (*fem*) *they shall or will look on.*

Future.

sing. 'Njunkigachrà, *I shall be looked on*
'njetsigachrà, *you shall be looked on*
'nt'huwagachrà, *he shall be looked on*
'nt'guwagachrà, *she shall be looked on*
plur. 'n'tiunquagachrà, *we shall be looked on*
'njets'wagachrà, *ye shall be looked on*
'nthuwatigachrà, *they shall be looked on*
'nt'guwatigachrà, (*fem*) *they shall be looked on*

Imperative.

Præs.

sing. Tesgachrà, *look on.*
plur. tess'wagachrà, *look ye on.*

Præs.

sing. Ajetsigachra, *be thou looked on.*
plur. ajets'wagachra, *be ye* "

Future.

sing. 'Ntesgachrà, *you shall look on.*
n'ahogachrà, *he shall look on.*
n'ajegachrà, *she* " "
plur. n'ass'wagachrà, *ye shall look on.*
n'ahotigachrà, *they shall look on.*
n'aguntigachrà, (*fem.*) *they shall look on.*

Future.

sing. 'Najetscgachrà, *you shall be looked at.*
n'at'huwagachrà, *he shall be looked at.*
n'at'guwagachrà, *she shall be looked at.*
plur. n'ajetswagachrà, *ye shall be looked at.*
n'ahuwatigachrà, *they shall be looked at.*
n'aguwatigachrà, *they shall be looked at.*

(To be continued.)

CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN WILLIAM STRAHAN AND DAVID HALL, 1763–1777.

(Concluded from page 122.)

LONDON February 10, 1772.

DEAR DAVIE

I wrote to you the first Day of this Year. . . .

The Business of Parliament goes on, as I expected it would, exceeding smoothly. There was not so much as a Word offered in either House against the King's Speech. The Commons have voted 25000 Seamen for the ensuing Year, without a Division. Every thing else is carrying on without Opposition; occasioned in a good Measure from the Doors of both Houses being shut against all Strangers whatever; so that the Patriots having no body to declaim to, are quite tired out, and seldom give their Attendance. Lord Temple, I am assured, and Lord Chatham, I am told, will neither of them enter the House this Session. Lord Camden seems to lye entirely quiet. In the City we have an excellent Chief Magistrate, by which means, and by the Divisions among themselves, the Patriots there are kept under. Even *Junius* has now fairly written himself down. This exceedingly factious Writer (who is still concealed) seems to point his Malevolence chiefly against the King, the Duke of Grafton, and Lord Mansfield, his last Letter to whom is universally decried as frivolous and groundless in the highest Degree.—We are, at length, I hope, after a violent and tedious Hurricane, on the Eve of as long a Calm in Politicks. Indeed I can see nothing to prevent it. Lord North goes on calmly, steadily, and firmly; and as his Hands are strengthened by the full Confidence of his Master, who delegates to him the Powers necessary to his serving him with Effect, I really believe our domestic Government will acquire some Stability, and of course our Reputation with foreign States will soon

be restored to that Standard to which our Strength, Riches and Consideration so justly entitle us.

Last Saturday at 6 in the Morning the Princess Dowager breathed her last. She had suffered much, and with great Resignation, under a tedious Illness. Both their Majesties, and the Princess of Brunswick were the whole Night in the House with her, without going to Bed; and after she expired, the King staid till Lord Boston came, to whom, and to the other Servants, he gave the necessary Orders.—She is now in a State far superior to Mortal Praise or Blame; where the lying and malignant Voice of Faction cannot reach her, but I must needs say, never was a more amiable, a more innocent, or a more universally benevolent Princess, which many who were supported by her numerous, but secretly dispensed Charities well know, and must now deplore. That she interfered in the Politicks of this Country, and influenced the King in Affairs of State, I may say, *to my own certain Knowlege*, was utterly void of Foundation. You may think this is *bold*, after the repeated Assertions that have been published again and again to the contrary, with all the Bitterness and Malevolence and Virulence that violent Party Spirit could dictate. Among many other Proofs which I could bring of this, I shall only mention one, which carries Conviction, I think, along with it.—Her late Husband, Prince Frederic, died greatly indebted to many private People, for pecuniary Assistance, and other Services. These Obligations she continued to discharge to the utmost of her Power out of her own Income, which certainly was the best and most convincing Proof of her Disposition to serve them; and yet there is hardly a single Instance of her procuring any thing for any of them from the King.—This, surely, if she had had the Influence she was supposed to have, could not have been the Case.—How precarious is all sublunary Happiness! I remember her universally beloved, as our good Queen now is. She was the very Idol of the People of England:—And without any Blame on her Part, she has lived to lose the best of Husbands, to outlive several of her Children, to see another marry most indiscreetly,

another struggling under a dangerous Illness, another a Prisoner in a distant Kingdom, and another married to a Man that disregards her. Overwhelmed with these accumulated Misfortunes, and struggling with bodily Distemper, Heaven, as a Reward for her pure and blameless Conduct through Life, hath seasonably delivered her from the Sorrows of this Mortal State to where the Wicked cease from troubling, and where the Weary are at rest.

The petition against the 39 Articles was heard in the House of Commons last Thursday, and rejected by a great Majority, as was universally expected.—I recollect nothing more to write you. With Difficulty have I found time to write thus far; not without encroaching on the Hours generally spent in sleep. We are all pretty well just now, and desire to be cordially remembered to Mrs. Hall and your young Folks.

I am ever
Dear Davie
Most affectionately yours
WILL: STRAHAN.

LONDON Octr. 7, 1772.

DEAR DAVIE

Since my last of August 31st I have only a few Lines from you. . . .

With regard to public Affairs, I have not much to trouble you with. The India Company are determined upon sending out Supervisors. They were named yesterday, and are Six in Number, to be joined by three already there. Mean while, they, with five Millions worth of Goods in their Warehouses, which cannot be brought to Market soon but at an immense Loss, are in want of present Money, which if they cannot raise they must lower their Dividends, and contract their Trade. In this Situation they have applied to the Ministry for their Advice and Assistance. Two Methods are talked of; one, to apply to Parliament, for a Renewal of their Charter and an Increase of their Capital; the other, for Leave to borrow an additional Million on

their Bonds.—Great Difficulties stand in the way of either of these Expedients, so I cannot say which, or if either of them will take place. It is possible, however, that this may, among other Things, occasion the Par^t^. to assemble before Christmas.

The Convention between the Turks and Russians is unhappily broke off, and they are both preparing to renew Hostilities. If they remain long in this State, other Powers will every now and then join one Side or the other, and the War may insensibly become general, than which nothing is more to be dreaded.—The State of Poland, the late Revolution in Sweden, the Rapacity of the King of Prussia, ever ready to encroach on his Neighbours, all weigh in the Scale, to damp our Hopes of remaining long in perfect Tranquillity. But I still hope these Fears may be groundless.

Yesterday on the Conclusion of the Pole for Mayor, Wilkes found means to procure a Majority, and the Sheriffs will return him and Townsend, to the Court of Aldermen to-morrow. The Numbers were

For	Wilkes	2301
	Townsend	2278
	Hallifax	2126
	Shakespear	1912

But as many are known to have polled twice, and many more to have presumed to have personated Livery men who being now at a Distance could not pole; a Scrutiny will be demanded, which I am persuaded will greatly reduce his Numbers, and eventually defeat him. Tho' for my own part, I see no great Harm can arise from their permitting him to have his Frolick out. The Disgrace that it would entail upon the City, and the Affront thereby offered to our Sovereign; in having such a Miscreant raised to that high Office, in which he may now and then thrust himself into his Presence, are the only disagreeable Circumstances that can attend his Success. By next Mail this must be decided one Way or other.

The Removal of Lord Hillsborough, as I observed to you

in my last, is attended with no other Alteration in the Ministry. He is entirely forgot already.—That he meditates any farther Opposition to the Settlement of the New Colony, as a few of his Dependents without the least Foundation, insinuate, I am certain is groundless.—But if he attempts it, I will venture to pronounce, that all his Endeavours will be fruitless. The Scheme will be carried into Execution, without Delay, in spite of any little Obstructions he may vainly throw in the Way. . . .

I remain, with wonted Esteem and Regard,

Dear Davie

Your faithful and affectionate

WILL: STRAHAN.

LONDON November 4, 1772.

DEAR DAVIE

I wrote to you the 7th of Octr by the last Packett.

Wilkes, you see, is defeated in his Attempt to obtain the Mayoralty; and I have Reason to think he ever will be; as some of the most respectable among his own Party have contracted, for very good Reasons, a great Aversion to him, and begin to see through his artful Manœuvres, which are purely selfish, and tend to promote a general Confusion, that he may get something for himself in the Scramble.—But of this Man, I need say no more. If you read our Newspapers, you will find enough, and more than enough, on so unworthy a Subject.

The Parliament, you see, as I conjectured in my last, assembles the 26th of this Month, in order to take into Consideration the State of the India Company. The Ministry have already rejected the Propositions they made for encreasing their Capital, or borrowing money on Bonds, as totally inadmissible, and with great Justice. So they must lower their Dividends, and contract many useless Expences, and then they may soon be on a good Footing again. I was at their General Court last Thursday, when the Directors made their Report of the Supervisors.—Some spoke against the Measure of Supervisors altogether; some for the Neces-

sity and Utility of it; all, against electing the Majority of the Supervisors from among the Directors.—Mr Dempster's Speech on this Head was, with Justice, much applauded. He observed, that a Variety of Military; Legal, and Civil Talents were requisite for the proper Discharge of so very important a trust, (the greatest that had ever been committed to Subjects) which, without derogating from the Abilities of the Gentlemen nominated by his Brethren of the Court of Directors, could not be expected to be found among them. In conclusion, it was agreed, that the Form of the Commission under which they were to act should be printed, and taken into further Consideration that Day forthnight; postponing for the present the Nomination of the Supervisors, and of the Instructions to be given them. We shall now soon see how the Parliament takes this Matter up; it being allowed on all hands that the Company are unequal to the Management of their great territorial Acquisitions, and cannot fall upon Methods to check the Rapacity of their Servants at so immense a Distance.

Nothing else occurs to me worth communicating. The present Ministry not only stand their Ground, but gather Strength every Day; so that a Change is apparently at a great Distance.—Lord North acts his Part very well. Spirited, firm, and cool in his Operations. Neither foolhardy nor over-cautious, he proceeds in a way in general unexceptionable, and often praise-worthy. And his private Character is without Blemish. 'Tother Day he was unanimously elected Chancellor of the University of Oxford; an Honour very rarely, if ever before, conferred on the Prime Minister. In short, from every Quarter it is apparent that the People are, in general, well satisfied with our present Rulers, and are duly sensible of the many Blessings peculiar to this Country. The Discontents and Scurrility with which our Newspapers are constantly filled, exist only in *them*, and are the Productions of a few profligate Individuals. You must therefore, in considering the present State and Temper of this Nation, put them entirely out of the Question, otherwise you will be led to make a very erroneous Estimate of

the Times.—I had almost forgot to observe to you, that in Scotland, the folly of the Directors of the Douglas Bank, and the prevailing Luxury of the People there, are likely to be productive of very great Distress both to Individuals, as well as to the Kingdom in general. Many have failed, and many more are expected to give way; and the Want of Money is universal. I hope our Countrymen will profit by their Misfortunes, and learn to keep their Expences within their real, not their imaginary, Abilities.—Both there and here the Prices of every Necessary of Life are nearly double what they were when you left Britain.

My Family are as usual, and join me in every good Wish to you and yours. I remain unalterably

Dear Davie

Your faithful and affectionate

WILL: STRAHAN.

DEAR DAVIE

As I have had no Letter from you since yours of Aug^st 4th and there is no News to transmit to you, but what is sufficiently public, I should hardly have troubled you just now, were I not unwilling to let a Packet sail, during the Sitting of Parliament without dropping you a few Lines, to let you know, at least, that I have nothing material to say.

The House of Commons, you see, have entered upon India Affairs without delay; and their Situation will now be probed to the Bottom. It is already sufficiently apparent, that there have been great Abuses as well at home as abroad. Those few of the Directors who were in the Secret, have been extremely culpable, and have wantonly sported with the true Interests of the Proprietors, holding out false Lights to the Unwary, and representing the Circumstances of the Company to be very different from what they now appear to be. But the greatest Part of them were actually kept in a State of Ignorance; and tho' their Indolence and Inactivity be justly reprehensible, they do not seem to have been *intentionally* guilty of any Deceit. The Object of this Enquiry is of great Consequence to the State; but much less so in regard to the £400,000 agreed to be paid Annually,

than to the immense Sum they pay to the Revenue for Duties, which makes one great Source of the National Income. I see plainly it will take the best part of this Session before it is finished; but they must necessarily come to some Resolution about the Dividend due at Christmas, before they break up for the Holidays. My Opinion is, that it will be fixed at Six ℔ Cent. And in order to disencumber them from their large Debts, which are more likely, even with this low Dividend, to encrease than diminish, they will possibly be permitted to encrease their Capital One Million, which will fully answer their purpose. But this, nor anything, will effectually restore them, unless great Reformations take place in Bengal, and due Attention be paid to the necessary Savings at home. One capital Error, they have unhappily fallen into; and that is, keeping up too large an Establishment of Troops in times of Peace. This naturally tended to alarm the Country Powers, and made them increase their Troops in Proportion, so that a large Army there has now become unavoidable, which now costs the Company, with contingent Expences, not liable to Restriction, an immense Sum Yearly, so as nearly to exhaust their territorial Revenues. Were these, however, put under proper Management, they would still become a Source of Wealth and Opulence to the British Empire. I have dwelt the longer upon this Subject, which may perhaps little engage Attention with you; both because it is really of general Concern, and because it is the only Topic of Politicks now in Agitation: For every thing else goes on very smoothly. No Change in the Ministry so much as thought of; the Opposition having gradually melted away; nor do I foresee any considerable Debate likely to take place this Session. Abroad, you see, all is Peace with respect to us. The Dismembering of Poland does not interest us; and the Turks and Russians are both seriously disposed to terminate their Disputes.—And to crown all, France is in a very debilitated State, loves Peace, dreads War; and, of course, hath not, for Centuries past, been so cordially disposed to be upon a friendly Footing with us.—If, therefore, nothing should occur to overcast

this fair Prospect, we shall soon see Trade and Manufactures, and all the lists of Peace cultivated to a higher Pitch than ever. We have large and fruitful Territories in every Quarter of the Globe; there can be no Bounds set to the Increase of North America, which the more it prospers, and the more it cultivates every possible or practicable Species of Manufactures worthy itself,—the more in my Opinion will it add to the Strength, Stability, Wealth, and Splendor of the British Empire; for if Riches increase in any part of it, they will, like Water poured into the Sea, naturally spread over the whole Surface.

I hope you and yours are as well as me and mine are, who all join in affectionate Remembrance of you. I am always

Dear Davie

Very faithfully and affectionately Yours

WILL: STRAHAN

LONDON Decr 2. 1772.

LONDON March 3. 1773.

DEAR SIR

With the utmost Grief and Concern I heard of my old and worthy Friend's Death a few Days before yours of the 6th January reached me. I was, for some time, fearful somewhat extraordinary was the Matter, and by the Jany Packett wrote Mr Thos Wharton so, as he had always been extremely punctual in his Correspondence. I will restrain myself, and not more than is necessary recall to your Remembrance the irreparable Loss you have sustained by the Death of one of the best of Parents and of Men. But I must, once for all, give my Testimony to his great and singular Worth. In his Youth, he had none of the Levity so common to that Stage of Life; yet he was abundantly chearful, easy, and social. His Industry was constant and unwearied; and his Oeconomy, even when his Means of Subsistence were extremely slender, was such as enabled him always to indulge his ardent Desire to do every body strict Justice. His Behaviour to his Parents, too, who were

in his early Days both in Years and Fortune very much upon the Decline, was remarkably dutiful and affectionate, sharing with them the small Pittance he was allowed for Board wages during his Apprenticeship. In short, in my whole Life, and among my whole Friends and Acquaintance, which are not few, I never knew a Character more uniformly upright, steady, and persevering in a Rectitude of Conduct, which nothing could ever prevail on him to deviate from. This is a just Picture of him before he left Britain, which is farther verified and confirmed by his subsequent Behaviour through Life. As for my own part, I have not only lost a Friend for whom, merely on the Score of Antient Friendship, and a Similarity of Tempers, and Dispositions I valued in the highest Degree; but a Correspondent punctual, faithful, and just, my sense of which you may read in the Course of our long and extensive Dealings together.

As for you, my young Friend, and his Representative, I am much pleased to see, by the very decent and proper Manner in which you communicate this very distressful Event, that you do not need to be told what your Duty is, or what is expected from you on this Occasion by those whom Providence has now committed to your Care. Happy for you, and the rest of the Family, that your Father was given to you till you had attained the Years of Manhood; nor can I point out to you a more sure and just Rule of Conduct, whenever you find yourself at a Loss how to act on any difficult Occasion, than to consider with yourself how he acted in such Cases, and as nearly as possible to tread in his Steps. You cannot, I will venture to say, tho' you must have many excellent Examples before you, follow a better Pattern. I will therefore only add a few Words more in regard to the feeble and now disconsolate Parent you have left. Her infirm Constitution must be still farther weakened by this awful and irreparable Blow. Your whole Behaviour to her will, I doubt not, be so exceedingly affectionate, dutiful, and attentive, as to make her Loss sit as easy upon her as it is possible. You must now consider yourself as her

and your Brother's Protector; and upon you it now principally depends, whether the Remainder of her Days, when Time and her Christian Fortitude and Resignation hath enabled her to acquiesce in the Divine Will, shall be filled with any Measure of Comfort or not. Let nothing, not even Business itself, divert you even for an Hour from pouring into her wounded and almost broken Heart every Consolation in your Power to administer. Assure her also that could it serve, in any Measure, to soothe or alleviate her present Distress, she has the friendly Sympathy of me and my Family, and in particular of my poor Wife, whose Regard to her deceased Friend was such, as made him distinguish her with the Appellation of *Mother*.

The Books you order are getting forward, and shall speedily be sent you; in two or three Weeks at farthest. How our Account stands you will see by our late Letters. I shall send you a State of it as it stands in my Books in my next. May every Prosperity attend you. Many Advantages you will derive from your Father's Industry and friendly and irreproachable Conduct; which I promise myself the Comfort of hearing, from time to time, you make the proper Use of. I am with the sincerest Regard your Mother's, your Brother's, and

Dear Sir

Your affectionate Friend and Servant

WILL: STRAHAN.

LONDON July 5. 1775.

DEAR SIR

My last to you was dated Febry 6th since which I have by several Opportunities sent you the usual Number of Magazines, and many of the new Pamphlets regarding America, all of which I hope you have received.

I have your Favour of May 6th announcing the Arrival of Dr Franklin. I hope he will be eminently useful in bringing to a speedy and happy Issue our present Quarrel, of which at present I can see no End. I am particularly sorry that Blood has begun to be shed, tho' the Skirmish was but a

trifling one on either Side. For my own part, if the Colonies mean to continue a Part of the British Empire, I think the Matter now in Dispute might be easily adjusted; but if they intend to cast off all subordination to the British Legislature (as appears now to be their Plan) I dare say this Country will oppose them to the last Extremity; nor do I think any Ministry will dare to do otherwise. It is a pity you are so much misled by the Voice of Faction here, which is by no means that of the Nation at large; and were the present Ministry dismissed tomorrow, their successors (even Lord Chatham himself) must adopt the same Plan of Proceedings, with perhaps a small Variation, to make their late Opposition somewhat specious. To be sure it behoves every Freeman to learn the Use of Arms to be able to defend his Property; but on the present Occasion, I hope you will have little need of employing them against us, as the Operations of the War (if War it must be) will probably be much confined to the Sea. In any Shape, every Step leads to our mutual Destruction.

I am, with best Compliments to your Mother and Brother

Dear Sir

Your affectionate humble Servt

WILL STRAHAN.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

Notes.

THE OHIO COMPANY.—[We have received the following communication from Colonel E. C. Dawes, of Cincinnati, O., in reference to the statements made by Heckewelder concerning the Ohio Company. (See "Journey to the Wabash in 1792," PENNA. MAG., Vol. XI. pp. 472, 473.)—ED.]

"The Ohio Company was composed of 1000 shares of $1000 each. The shares were payable in government debt certificates, upon which one year's interest was due, or to the extent of one-seventh the whole amount in land-warrants of 1000 acres. Each share paid $10 in specie as an expense fund, and those who paid land-warrants paid an additional amount equal to the value of one year's interest on $1000 of debt certificates. The contract for purchase of 1,500,000 acres of land at sixty-six and two-thirds cents per acre was made in July, 1787. Land-warrants were made receivable for one-seventh the total amount at the rate of 150 acres for each 100-acre land-warrant. Government securities were then worth 12 to 15 per cent., and land-warrants $10 to $15 per 100 acres.

"At the time of making the contract but 250 shares of the Ohio Company had actually been taken. The remainder was soon subscribed for, and the first payment of $500,000 was made in October, 1787. The second payment was not due until certain surveys were completed. The success of the Ohio Company in making a purchase on such favorable terms stimulated the market for government securities and also for land-warrants.

"In 1789, after the adoption of the Federal Constitution, securities advanced so much that many who had subscribed for shares refused to pay for them, and 148 shares were forfeited. A number of others made but partial payments.

"Occasional forays by the Indians delayed the surveys, and the breaking out of the Indian war in 1790 stopped them entirely, and also destroyed the market for land-warrants and land. Securities continued to increase in value. Land-warrants depreciated. The treasurer of the Ohio Company held about $200,000 of securities in his hands applicable to the payment, besides a large number of land-warrants. So long as these securities remained in the Ohio Company treasury the interest accruing on them inured to its benefit. When paid to the United States the interest ceased. The final payment was not due until the surveys were completed, and less payments could not secure a title. Many of the shareholders who had bought securities and converted them into shares for speculation were clamorous that the contract be given up and the residue in the treasury divided,—securities to those who paid securities, land-warrants to those who had paid in them. Those who had moved to Ohio, or intended to do so, on the other hand, insisted that the original articles of agreement which defined the relative value of certificates and land-warrants be adhered to, and that every effort be made to secure

N. Collin D.D.

the amount of land actually paid for, and that any funds remaining be divided *pro rata* to all shares, however originally paid.

"Most of those who had settled on the lands were men of small means, and had paid for their shares in land-warrants, which they or their fathers had earned by service in the Revolution. The directors of the Company sustained the settlers. In 1792 the directors and agents met in Philadelphia to effect a settlement of the affairs of the Company. While in session, there occurred a financial panic in New York. The treasurer of the Ohio Company failed, owing about $50,000, most of which proved a total loss.

"After much delay, a bill finally passed both houses of Congress confirming to the Ohio Company the title to 750,000 acres of land for the payment already made, and authorizing the President also to convey to it 214,285 acres, to be paid for in army bounty warrants. 100,000 acres were granted to the directors of the Ohio Company in trust to be conveyed in tracts of 100 acres each to actual settlers. Of the original 1000 shares, 148 had been forfeited for non-payment, 83 had been paid in part, 769 had been paid in full. The 769 only were admitted to a dividend of the residuary funds. The 83 were consolidated into 53 shares so nearly paid up as to entitle them to a dividend of the full amount of lands only. The dividend of lands to each share was 1173 acres. Resident shareholders received at once 100 acres per share additional from the donation tract. Non-residents were entitled to the same amount if each share could furnish a settler within the purchase prior to April, 1797.

"There was left in the treasury, after paying all claims, a sum equal to $152.48 per share, which was paid to the 769 paid shares in four payments. The first, of $104, in 1792; the second, of $26, in 1794; the third, of $18.72, in ——; and the final dividend of $3.76, in 1815.

"The 'honest poor man,' who paid for his share in land-warrants, earned with his blood, received for his original payment of about $17 cash and his 100-acre land-warrant 1273 acres of land and $130 in money, which at the time it was paid would have bought an additional 3250 acres of land-warrants. (I have in my possession a contract made April, 1792, for the purchase of 50 land-warrants of 100 acres each for $200.) Besides, he afterwards obtained other dividends aggregating $22.50. The speculator who paid in securities purchased at 12 to 15 cents on the dollar, received back the money he originally invested, 1173 acres of land, and a donation right of 100 acres beside.

"The settlement was therefore far more favorable to all shareholders than if the original plan had been carried out and the entire amount of lands secured, notwithstanding the loss by the failure of the treasurer."

Pastoral Letter of Rev. Nicholas Collin.—The original of the following letter has recently been donated by Dr. Alfred Stillé to the Historical Society:

To the Members of the Swedish Lutheran Churches of Wicacoa, Kingsessing, and Upper Merion.

Beloved in God.

Whereas it may please the Father of our immortal Spirits to call me before I can convene a meeting of you, I deem it a conscientious duty to impress this solemn charge on your minds.

The mixture of nations and religious denominations; the want of order so common in this part of America; the gradual extinction of the Swedish language; a want of gratitude to some worthy pastors; and the

faults of the less worthy, whether of the head or heart;—all these causes combined in various ways have from an earlier period, but more especially since thirty or forty years so impaired these congregations, that but a part of those who by the Charter have a right to membership merit the same. Corruption of manners and many temporary calamities have been and are the visible consequences. Many of the Children receive no education; and both from ignorance and early habits become vicious youths. Many persons both old and young frequent no public worship whatever: some fluctuate between various Societies, and never become settled in principles and practice. How many of the ancient Swedish families have lost opulent patrimonies by their debauchery, vanity, idleness; and by the unhappy connections they formed; evil companions, fraudulent dealers, and wicked conjugal mates! That orphans are bound out among strangers; and that friendless old persons are thrown upon public charity, are great evils among the many that arise from the defect of social aid.

You know how earnestly and frequently I have represented these things, both in my sermons and private conversations; and that Divine Grace has enabled me by the exertions of eleven years to effect a considerable improvement. I beseech you again, perhaps the last time, to reflect that God has attached the greatest blessings, both Spiritual and temporal, to the faithful performance of social duties, but many woes to the neglect of them. Collect therefore all the piety, goodness, knowledge, and whatever talents among you; and unite for the service of your Creator, your own most important interests, the wellfare of your offspring, and the good of the nation of which you make a part.

The godly and generous zeal of some pastors, and the solicitude of our ancestors have provided an estate, which by good management will furnish the principal support of Divine Worship and of your spiritual œconomy; I charge you to preserve and administer it faithfully, as the Stewards of God.

Remain at reast for awhile, unconnected with any other churches or religious societies, for you cannot in the present fluctuation forsee what is most expedient.

I cannot recommend a Swedish successor exclusively; but as it is probable that many natives of Sweden will at times arrive in this city, and the number of constant residents may also increase, a Swedish Clergyman would be very useful to them, both as a Spiritual teacher, and a comforter under the difficulties to which strangers are so liable. As it was the undoubted intention of your ancestors to benefit the children of their mother-country; and as Sweden has for a century expended great sums for the Mission, of which your congregations have had their full share; it is your duty to allot a part of the revenues for the support of such a clergyman, if the Swedish Government should permit one to come: which share ought not to be less than one-third of all the annual revenues, and yearly value of the parsonage. A well chosen character would prove very beneficial to this country by the communication of various interesting knowledge, as Sweden has a great number of excellent scholars; and not less by influencing the moral conduct of those who are under his care. I request your serious attention to this! If a single bad character can occasion much evil, and if the virtues of every individual produce many salutary fruits in Society, it is very necessary to promote the religious and moral means for the many of all nations who flock to this country. In this view not only natives of Sweden claim your consideration, but also those of Denmark and Norway, whose religious worship and language so much resemble the Swedish,

that seamen and other persons from those countries frequent the Swedish Church during their residence in Philadelphia.

Two American Ministers will suffice for the three congregations until their increase becomes considerable. When the revenue can be improved by leasing the vacant lots, it would be very beneficial to purchase a glebe in Kingsess, and even in Upper Merion after a convenient period; as a clergyman must live among the people in order to be most useful.

The rights of Swedish descendants must never be surrendered; but a gradual communication of them to others on proper conditions will promote religion, and the true interest of the congregations. Let therefore persons of good character purchase compleat membership; let the price be equivalent to the advantages thus obtained; and let the moneys so raised be laid out in the purchase of land for the improvement of the revenue.

In the deepest affliction for the loss of my beloved wife who expired two days ago after the severest tortures in the epidemic fever, I have penned these principal matters of advice in the language of affectionate zeal; leaving particulars to your own discretion.

With sincere prayers to Allmighty God for his blessing upon you both social and personal, I am

Your faithful friend and Servant

PHILADELPHIA NICHOLAS COLLIN.
the 1st of October 1797.

[Mrs. Collin died of yellow fever, and was buried in the "Old Swedes' Church-yard." Her epitaph reads: Beneath | repose the Earthly remains | of | Hannah, Wife of | Nicholas Collin, | Rector of the Swedish Churches | in Pennsylvania, | departed on the 29th of September | 1797 | Aged 48 Years and 2 months. | He erected this monumental | record of her piety, kindness, | œconomy, neatness; her faithful | affection to him in many trying | scenes; of his grief, which shall not | cease until they meet in the land | of the living.]

LOCKWOOD GENEALOGY.—We take pleasure in announcing that the "Colonial and Revolutionary History of the Lockwood Family," descendants of Edmund and Robert Lockwood, of Watertown, Massachusetts, 1630–36, and Fairfield County, Connecticut, is ready for the press. The work, covering a period of nearly three centuries, will include about eleven hundred family genealogies; also extracts from official colonial records of Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode Island, New York, Maine, and other States, and the military records of one lieutenant-colonel, two majors, twelve captains, four lieutenants, and sixty privates; and of one commodore in the navy, who served during the War for Independence. Particularly interesting will be a number of letters written from "Camp before Quebec," in 1776, by Major James Lockwood. The second express sent in April of 1775, conveying the news of the battle of Lexington, which was countersigned from Connecticut to South Carolina by the Committees of Safety, was written by Major Lockwood. Photographs of the old homestead, tombstones, and historical papers, and reproductions of Revolutionary documents, will further increase the value of the volume.

LONG ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—We have received a neat pamphlet from this Society, containing the minutes prepared on the death of Hon. James Carson Brevoort, the first President; Mrs. Urania Battell Humphrey; John Greenwood; and Albert Smith Barnes. Mr. Brevoort was elected a non-resident member of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania in December of 1858.

Poor Will's Pocket Almanac.—Among the recent accessions to the library of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania are a number of *Poor Will's Pocket Almanacs.* From a copy of the issue of 1773, which evidently belonged to a member of the Pemberton family of this city, we make the following extracts recorded on its interleaved pages:

January. Pleasant weather the forepart of this month to the . . . when it began to be very cold and filled the river with ice.

Feby. 21. An extreme cold day—high wind from W. N. W.

Feby. 22. The cold continues; Delaware frozen over.

June 8. Came to David Buckman's in Newtown, Buck's Co., with son Phineas, nurse and Biddy. . .

July 10. Went up with Dr Smith to son Phinny at Buckmans, on a message received of his being very ill.

Aug. 7. Went up to Buckman's with daughters Sally and Molly on 5th and returned on 7th.

In a copy of the issue for 1795, we find the following recorded:

5 mo. 1, 1795. Put 200 dolls. into Messrs Bartram's hands for

getting types for Concordance . . .	£75 – –
J. Boyd to him	28, 6, 8
	£103. 6. 8.

5 mo. 8, 1795, Bought a Bill of John Wilcox for £100. Sterling—cost 460 Dolls.—at the Mutual Risk of the subscribers—to be expended in purchasing a fount of Types for Printing Cruden's Concordance.

Isaac Collins,
Stacy Budd,
Archd Bartram.

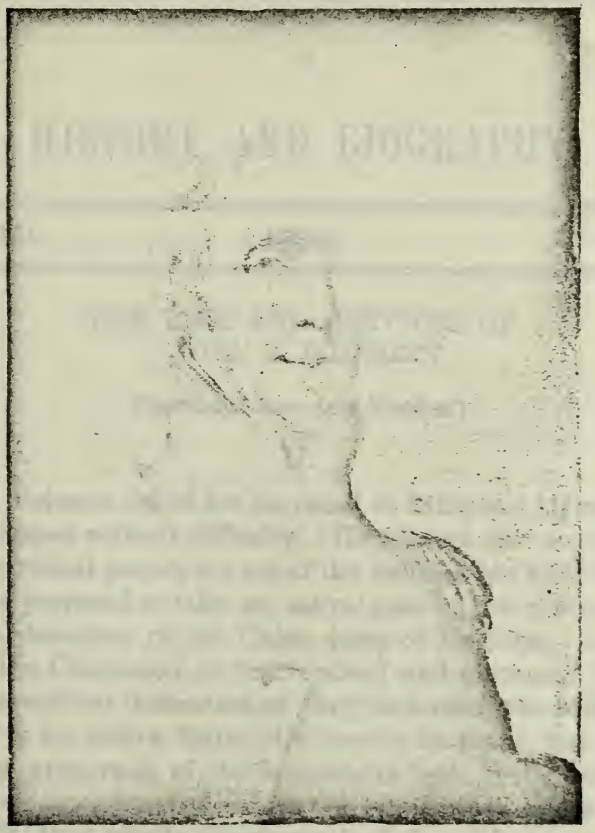
Queries.

Portraits of Benjamin Franklin.—A small print, lettered: "Doctor Benjamin Franklin. Engraved by Wm Evans, from an original picture (the last painted) in the possession of Dr Jas. Hamilton. Published for Lackington, Allen & Co. Jan. 1. 1804," appears to be from a hitherto unknown painting. Who was the artist? H.

Stoffel Wagner's Tavern.—In a letter of my grandfather, written in 1795, in which he gives an account of a journey made on horseback to the North Branch of the Susquehanna, he refers to "Stoffel Wagner's Tavern," where he passed the night without being "pestered by bed-bugs or any of their connection," and where for supper and breakfast "the finest brook trout were served." Where was this tavern?

Replies.

Stoffel Wagner's Tavern.—This tavern stood on the road between Philadelphia and Bethlehem, about a mile south from Hellertown. It was built about 1752, on a tract of one hundred and eighty-four acres, patented to Wagner by Thomas and Richard Penn in June of that year. William Bradford, in 1755, printed a pamphlet—"Account of distances from the city of Philadelphia, of all places of note within the improved part of the Province of Pennsylvania"—in which "Stophen Waggoner's" is given as ten miles north of Swamp Meeting (now Quakertown), and five miles south from Bethlehem. Lafayette rested at Wagner's on his way to Bethlehem, after being wounded at Brandywine. Subsequent to 1812 it was known as Woodring's Tavern.



ANDREW JACKSON

From a Painting by Sully, in The Historical Society of Pa.

THE

PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE

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HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY.

Vol. XII. 1888. No. 3.

THE LIFE AND SERVICES OF JOEL R. POINSETT.

(Concluded from July Number.)

II.

Mr. Poinsett asked for his recall in 1829, and his request was granted without difficulty. He reached this country at a very critical period, the era of the nullification excitement, and he prepared to take an active part in the controversy as the champion of the Union party of his State. On his arrival in Charleston he was received and welcomed by his friends without distinction of party as a man who had done honor to his native State. On inquiry he found that while a large proportion of the inhabitants both in the city and the State were dissatisfied with the duties levied by the tariff of 1828, they wholly disapproved of the violent measures proposed by the Nullifiers in order to resist their payment, but many of the leading men on the Union side seemed to doubt whether it was possible to stay the torrent which was sweeping the people of the State into an attitude of defiance against the General Government. Mr. Poinsett, however, was hopeful, and he tried to inspire hope in others. He suc-

ceeded so well that at the next election (in 1830), which was conducted by both sides with great energy, the Union party in the State was successful, electing a majority of the members of the Legislature. His associates in this conflict bear names identified with the history of Carolina as among the most distinguished of her citizens,—Colonel William Drayton, Judge Huger, James L. Petigru, Thomas S. Grimké, the Richardsons of Sumter, Judge David Johnson, Judge O'Neal, the Pringles, and a host of others. Mr. Poinsett was elected Senator from the Charleston district. In Columbia he met face to face with his late violent opponents, and although he and his friends maintained such pronounced opinions in favor of the Union, such was the character and bearing of the leading men on both sides, that the wide difference of sentiment between them led to no unseemly want of courtesy or even of cordiality in their personal intercourse.

The position taken by the Nullifiers in their controversy with the United States Government at the beginning, and consistently maintained by them to its close, was simply this: "That any one State may not only declare an act of Congress void, but prohibit its execution; that they may do this consistently with the Constitution; that the true construction of that instrument permits a State to retain its place in the Union, and yet be bound by no other of its laws than those it may choose to consider as constitutional." It is to be remembered that Mr. Calhoun and his friends whom he had convinced by his metaphysical subtleties always insisted that the doctrine of nullification was remedial only and not revolutionary, and that it was a reserved right (resembling the tribunitian power in Rome) on the part of each State, to be employed in the last resort to force the others to do it justice. Against such a colossal heresy, as Mr. Madison called it, the Union party, headed by Mr. Poinsett and his friends, protested with extraordinary vigor for more than three years, and they became, amidst many discouragements and much personal danger, the warm supporters of the General Government in its efforts to maintain its authority in

South Carolina as it did everywhere else throughout the country. It should not be forgotten, too, that the Union party was quite as much opposed to the provisions of the tariff of 1828 as their opponents, but they looked for a remedy to the methods prescribed by the Constitution of the United States itself, and not to the annulling of a federal law by the alleged sovereign power of one of the States.

The following sketch of the events of the "Nullification Era" in South Carolina, as it is called, written by Dr. Joseph Johnson, a friend of Mr. Poinsett and an eye-witness of most of the proceedings, seems so clear, accurate, and complete, and explains so fully Mr. Poinsett's connection with the movement, that we cannot do better than to present the life-like picture which he has drawn to the reader:

"The foreign Enemies of our Commerce were hostile to our manufacturing establishments, & tried to crush them by various means. One of their plans was to deluge the United States with the coarse fabricks of their establishments. Protective Duties were imposed on all such importations. In some cases they were so heavy, as to exclude such articles altogether, & thus produced an effect on Commerce unlooked for & not intended. The freights of vessels returning from India & China were much reduced by the exclusion of these bulky articles, & their Profits diminished. The Southern States who were but slightly engaged in either Commerce or Manufactures, had liberally voted taxes for the encouragement of both, as national concerns. Their being willing to sacrifice so much for the public good, roused the manufacturers to impose much heavier Duties on most of the Articles of which the South was the chief Consumer. Many of those Articles were made to pay 40 ℘r Ct on their first Cost, & the Southern Orators in their declamatory addresses inflamed the minds of their hearers by asserting that this was taking from them $40 out of every $100 which they earnd by their daily labour. Mr McDuffie insisted that the Genrl Governt imposed on the South these unequal and unjust Taxes to oppress them, & by these imposts took from every Cotton Planter, forty Bales of every hundred that he could send to market. This was called McDuffie's forty Bale Theory, & many believed it. In vain was it explained to them by the Union Party, that this was an exaggerated

statement of the grievances which no one in the South approved. In vain was it showed to them, that if this were true, they would now be obliged to pay from one third to one half more for their blankets Clothing, Salt, Sugar, Tea & coffee than they had always been accustomed to pay. They all used, they all bought, they all knew the former cost of such things, & could readily say whether they now paid more for them, in any thing like that proportion stated by Calhoun, McDuffie, Hamilton, Hayne, Turnbull & others of their public men. That as to the inequality of the Impost, it was not possible to impose any Tax that might not bear unequally on some State or States, according to its or their peculiar habits or fashions. That every act of Congress extended alike over every State in the Union, & all had equal rights to establish the Manufactories favored by these imposts. That they were not imposed to favor any portion of our common Country, but to protect all the U. States against foreign Nations, & prevent them from crushing our infant establishments by their overwhelming Capital, their greater practical skill & experience, & the improved construction of their machinery. That the South had an equal right with the North to profit by these regulations, & instead of disputing about them with the North, to go & do likewise, to establish similar manufactories, and avail themselves of their black population—the cheaper description of operators. The public mind became more & more excited against these heavy imposts, which unquestionably bore unequally on the South, as they were not manufacturers of the protected articles; & at the ensuing election the Nullifyers prevailed by majorities in both branches of the Legislature.

"In 1828 at the Annual Meeting of the Legislature, a Com^tee^ was appointed to consider & report on Governor Taylors Message in reference to the Tariff. A resolution was adopted 'That it is expedient to protest against the unconstitutionality & oppressive operation of the System of protecting duties, & to have such protest entered on the Journals of the Senate of the United States. Also to make a public exposition of our wrongs & of the remedies within our power, & to communicate them to our Sister States, with a request that they will cooperate with this State in procuring a repeal of the Tariff for protection, & an abandonment of the Principle, & if the repeal be not procured, that they will cooperate in such measures as may be necessary to arrest the evil.'

"This select Com^tee consisted of James Gregg, D. L. Wardlaw, Hugh S. Legare, Arthur P. Hayne, Wm C. Preston, Willm Elliott, & R^t Barnwell Smith. They reported an Exposition & Protest which was adopted on the 19th of Decr 1828, ordered to be printed & appeared in Pamphlet form early in 1829. These Pamphlets were diffused far and wide, read by most people of reflection, & commented on in all the public journals, variously according to the various opinions of their editors or Patrons. The Report admitted that a Tariff on Imports may be so arranged as to encourage manufactures incidentally, by imposing duties for Revenue, on articles now manufactured within the U. States: but asserted that the Tariff of 1828 was not so arranged; that it was unequal and oppressive on the South & S° Western parts of the Union, and was not necessary for Revenue, but declared to be for the promotion of manufactures. That the Protective System is therefore unjust, Oppressive, & unconstitutional; imposing such Duties on Commerce & Agriculture, for the avowed purpose of promoting manufactures: & imposing them on the South to favor the interests of the North. That it was unconstitutional, as it was not imposed for the purpose of raising a Revenue, & ought to be resisted. That each State in the Union is a Sovereignty, & has as such a perfect right to judge for itself the violations of its Rights, & a perfect right to determine the mode & measure of its resistance. That in the present case Nullification is the rightful Remedy, & if properly carried out, is sufficient to protect South Carolina from the unconstitutional proceedings of Congress. 'They therefore solemnly protest against the System of protecting Duties, lately adopted by the Federal Government.'

"No further measure was taken, at this session of the Legislature, but the subject continued to agitate the public mind, & the discussion was kept up with zeal & animation on both sides. The Union men urged that whatever may be the weight or inequality of the Tariff, they felt it in an equal degree with their fellow Citizens of the other party. That they too had endeavored to prevent it from being imposed to the present extent, but now that it was imposed, resistance by force or unconstitutional measures, would only make things worse, & perpetuate the evils of which they complained. That in 1816 Mr Calhoun & other influential Southerners, with the best of motives, had brought forward this System, & imposed prohibitory Duties on Coarse Cotton Fabrics, usually imported from India, by which the Shipping

Interests of the North had suffered heavily. That although they complained, they did not resist an Act of Congress, imposed for the protection of manufactures of that description. Some of them withdrew a portion of their Capital from Commerce & united in extending manufacturing establishments of various descriptions. They now find that these new & finer fabrics require protection in proportion with the first & coarser kinds.

"In these great changes the North did not all concur; they who had first adventured, feared that they would be sufferers by the great competition in their own markets, & the value of their Stock on hand be depressed. A meeting of Merchants & Manufacturers in Boston was held in Novr 1827. They showed how much they were opposed, and on what strong grounds to such sudden & such great Changes; such interference by Congress in the Concerns of Trade & manufactures. The Union men concurred in the impolicy of such measures as were pursued, but as to their being unconstitutional, there were strong grounds for a different opinion. That in the Administration of Genl Washington in a Congress mostly composed of those who had been members of the Convention, in which that Constitution had been framed, discussed & adopted; the second Act of that Congress, had the following Preamble 'Whereas it is necessary for the support of Government, for the discharge of the Debts of the U. States, & for the protection & encouragement of Manufactures, that Duties be laid on Goods, Wares & Merchandise be it therefore enacted.' This Act was sanctioned & signed by President Washington & its principles adopted. Although the Federal Party lost their influence at the close of Mr J. Adams' Administration, this doctrine of Protection to Manufactures continued among the Democrats who succeeded his Administration, & was advocated by Jefferson, Madison & Monroe.

"Govr Miller's term as Governor of S° C^a passed off with some increase in the proportion of Nullification Representatives & in his declaration of 'the Right to Fight.' The other Southern States appealed to in the exposition of S° Carolina would not countenance or unite with them in Nullification doctrines. It was demonstrated that such Duties were paid by the Consumers of the Articles thus taxed, and by each portion of the Union in proportion to the population of such Consumers in that portion. That the Northern portions were much more populous than the South, & the adjoining States to S° C^a much more populous than herself, therefore

greater consumers in proportion & that they would not unite in her Crusade. They considered S° Ca^a too sensitive of her grievances, and trusted that these however oppressive and offensive could be & would be remedied by constitutional measures much better than by force. That as to the *Perfect* Sovereignty of the State—this existed previous to the adoption of the Federal Constitution, but a part of it was then given up by each State to the Federal Government, to obtain their Guarantee of all their other public & private Rights. Under that Constitution all the States yielded their Sovereign Rights to inlist Troops, to declare & carry on War; to make Peace; to negotiate Treaties with foreign nations; to regulate Commerce; to coin Money; to issue Bills of Credit; to establish a Federal Court; & to impose Duties & Taxes on Goods, Wares & Merchandise. The obligations thus assumed by the Federal Government on the grant of these powers, embraced yet another viz that all the States should possess equal rights and privileges; and this carried with it an Obligation to prevent any State from assuming Rights & Privileges not enjoyed by all or any of the Rest. That the Federal Gov^t was thus bound to prevent S° Car^a from enjoying her assumption of Rights, under the Nullification Acts & Ordinance.

"James Hamilton J^r was elected Governor in Decr 1830. The so called American System continued in its strength, notwithstanding these statements & remonstrances, & on the 14th of July 1832 an Act was passed called an Amendment of the Tariff. It indeed altered some of the Imposts by increasing those on articles consumed in the South, & reduced those only that were mostly used in the North. It was still more oppressive on the South & rendered the dissatisfied desperate. In Octob^r Govr Hamilton issued a Proclamation convening an Extra Session of the Legislature of S° C^a. They met accordingly on the 22^d Octob^r 1832 & the Governors message was delivered on the same day. In it he says, 'The Tariff Act of 1832 is in point of Fact a Law by which the consumption of the manufacturing States is nearly relieved of all burdens on those Articles which they consume & do not produce, & under the provisions of which they are secured in a bounty, on an average of more than fifty ℘^r C^t on the productions of their Industry, whilst it taxes our consumption to an equivalent amount, & the exchangeable value of our products in a much more aggravated ratio.' 'Articles of Luxury are selected as the Objects of comparative exemption from all burden, whilst those of

necessity bear nearly the whole brunt of the Imposts. Iron, Cotton & Woolen fabrics, Salt & Sugar are burthened with a Tax quite equivalent to an average of seventy five ℘r Ct on the first Cost; whilst the Teas, the Coffees, the Silks & the Wines of the Rich, enjoy a most unjust discrimination in their favor. Levying at least three fourths of the whole amount of the Federal Revenue on the industry of the Southern States.' He concludes by recommending the immediate call of a Convention, 'as it was in every respect desirable that our issue with the General Government, should be made before the meeting of Congress.'

"An act was accordingly passed, ordering an election of Delegates to a State Convention. 'The number of Delegates from each election District, to be the same as the present number of Representatives and Senators in the Legislature united.'

"The ratification of the Convention Bill was followed in Columbia by a discharge of Cannon and Music from a Band, but the Band (*mal à propos*) struck up 'Yankee Doodle.'

"The Union Party in So Carª very properly considered this Convention of the State a Critical movement, pregnant with dangerous consequences. They therefore also called a convention of the Union Party to be held at the same time & place. The Members of the two Conventions met accordingly in their separate Places; they eyed each other with suspicion at meeting in the Street, bowed coolly but politely & were evidently on the watch if either should commit itself by intemperate or illegal acts. The Union Members of the State Convention offered objections to the legality of its constitution—the members having been elected as if for Taxation representing Property & persons not as Delegates from a People in a primary Assembly. But this & all other difficulties were promptly overruled by the opposite Party, who followed their leaders. An Ordinance was accordingly ratified 'for Arresting the operation of certain Acts of the Congress of the U. States, purporting to be laws laying duties & imposts on the importation of Foreign Commodities.' To this Ordinance was attached an address to the people of So Carª said to have been written by Robt L. Turnbull Esqr,[1] and another to the people of the U. States written by Gen. McDuffie & prefixed to the whole was an exposition

[1] "In this he announces 'We have resolved that until these abuses shall be reformed,' *no more Taxes shall be paid here.*"

or Introduction written by Genl R^t Y. Hayne. The Ordinance itself is said to have been drawn up by Judge Wm Harper. It was signed by Govr Hamilton & by all the State Rights' Members of the Convention 136 in number. The Legislature met in a few days after the Ordinance was published. Govr Hamilton's Message urged on them the duty of providing for inforcing that Ordinance.

"They accordingly passed the Replevin Act—To carry into effect in part an Ordinance to Nullify certain Acts of Congress &C &C—Also 'the Test Oath Act' by which all Officers Civil & Military, were required to take the Oath or lose their Offices. Also An Act to regulate the Militia, & another to provide for the Security & protection of the State of S° Carolina.

"These energetic Measures did not proceed without exciting suitable attention & corresponding measures, both in the Union Party of S° Car^a, & in the heads of the Federal Govern^t. The Administration employed agents in Columbia who silently condensed the transactions of each day & sent the dispatch off every night to Wash'gton, under cover to a person or name there, who was unknown or could not be suspected. The Union Convention continued its meetings also in Columbia, & on the 14th Decr 1832 adopted an address & series of Resolutions exposing the illegality & injustice of the measures lately adopted by the Party in power. Among many other objections it declared those measures not only *revolutionary* but essentially *belligerent*, & that the Natural consequences would be *Disunion & Civil War*. That it betrays all the features of an odious Tyranny to those Officers Civil & Military, who holding their appointments legally, according to the Laws & Constitution of S° Car^a, were suddenly excluded, without impeachment, trial or conviction, by the new imposition of a Test Oath. To the members of the Union Party opposed to these Nullification Measures, who amount to the respectable Minority of more than 17,000 votes these measures are equally despotic, oppressive, & impolitic. These measures produce irreconcilable opposition, in the bosom of their own State, with that large & respectable Minority, who being equally opposed to the oppressive Tariff, cannot unite in such measures to effect its repeal. 'Disclaiming all intention of lawless or insurrectionary violence, they hereby proclaim their determination to protect their Rights by all legal & constitutional means, unless compelled to throw these aside by *intolerable oppression*.' This document was published with the signatures of 182 of the

Union members, headed by their Presid^{t} the Venerable Thomas Taylor of Columbia.

"The Inaugural Address of Govr Hayne on the 10th Decr 1832 was in his usual fluent & happy style but replete with denunciations against the Federal Govern^{t} & vaunted State Rights & the perfect Sovereignty of South Carolina. He then told the assembled Senate & House of Representatives, that it was their Duty to provide for carrying fully into effect the Ordinance of the Convention & defend it with their lives.

"The Legislature accordingly proceeded to pass the following Acts:

"An Act concerning the Oath required by the Ordinance passed in Convention at Columbia on the 24th day of Novemb^{r} 1832, which imposed the Test Oath on all Officers, Civil & Military, in S° Carolina.

"An Act to carry into effect in part, An Ordinance to nullify certain Acts of the Congress of the U. S., purporting to be Laws laying Duties on the importation of foreign Commodities, from & after the 1st day of Feby 1833.

"An Act to provide for the security & protection of the People of the State of S° Carolina, by which the Governor was authorised to accept Volunteers & to call out the Militia for the purpose of resisting any attempt of the Federal Government to inforce the payment of Duties on importations, either by an overt act of coercion, or by an unusual assemblage of naval or military forces, in or near the State. Also to authorise a Replevin on all such seizures by officers of the Federal Government.

"On the receipt of these Documents, Presid^{t} Jackson issued a Proclamation to the people of S. Carolina & sent a message to the two houses of Congress. In the Proclamation he appeals to their Reason, Patriotism, & Sense of Propriety, & then declared his determination to inforce the Laws of the U. States notwithstanding the measures adopted in S° Carolina. It was dated 16th Jan'y 1833, very ably drawn up & believed to have been written by the then Secretary of State Edward Livingston. The Legislature of S° Carol^{a} being then in Session, Govr Hayne sent them these Documents from Washington & with them, his own Proclamation. The House of Representatives in S° Car^{a} referred the whole to their Com^{tee} on Federal Relations, & adopted a series of Resolutions, commenting on the Course of Proceedings & confirming their own determination to resist. Having received lately about $200.000 from the Fed^{l} Govern^{t},

as a balance due to S° Car^a, the Legislature voted the whole of it for the purchase of Arms & other Munitions of War.[1]

"Here then was S° Carolina completely at issue with the Federal Government, both arming for attack & defence. Presid^t Jackson ordered seven Revenue Cutters & the Sloop of War Natchez Com: Zantzinger to rendezvous in Cha^ston Harbor—the whole under the command of Commodore Elliot. He likewise ordered 700 additional U. S. Troops to rendezvous at Cha^ston & garrison the Forts, all of which were in possession of the Genl Govern^t: the whole were under the Command of Genl Scott. A Company of U. S. troops had for five or six years occupied the Citadel in Cha^ston. They were called upon to give it up, & they promptly complied. The Officers of the State & of the General Govern^t were polite to each other, but it was otherwise with the two parties of the Inhabitants, the Union men & the Nullifyers. They had many irritating occurrences at their Elections—blows & broken heads were not uncommon, & some Duels occurred. When Volunteers were called out by the State to 'suppress Insurrection & Treason, they knew that such charges could not apply to the Govern^t Troops; & that however unjust to the Union Party hitherto, they now felt that they must enrol themselves for self protection. They appointed a Central Com^tee of which Mr Poinsett was the Ch^rman. The military divisions were soon arranged, the Officers selected, & the places of rendezvous assigned to each Company. A sufficiency of arms & ammunition was obtained from Genl Scott, & distributed subject to the call of the Union Officers respectively. Both Parties had their separate respective places of meeting, for harmonious consultation & arrangements. One of these Places occupied by the Union men was conspired against by a large body of the Nullifyers & the entrance surrounded at night. Several of their most respectable leaders tried to prevent it but could not,—the public mind was much excited; they sent to Mr Poinsett apprising him of it, asking him to persuade his friends to retire by a different entrance from that in common use, but Mr P. returned an Answer that they would defend themselves if assailed. Anticipating

[1] "In conformity with Govr Haynes Orders, the Adj^t General John B. Earle issued his proclamation for Volunteers 'to *suppress insurrection, repel invasion* & support the Civil Authorities in the execution of the Laws.' The Governor likewise issued Circular Orders to each Regiment to examine & Report suitable Depots for Provisions &C, on the most direct routes from their several Muster Grounds towards Charleston."

such an occurrence, he had provided strips of white Cotton to be tied on the right arm of each Union man, that they might be known to each other in a *mêlée;* he also provided from a Coopers Shop the but ends of their hoop poles as Sticks to arm his party. He & Col Wm Drayton were appointed by acclamation for the Command, & they selected other persons as Lieuts to command each a Squad. These arrangements were soon perfected, & the Union Party marched out three abreast in fine order. Marching up King Street they found themselves followed by the crowd of Nullifyers, that they had passed at the place of their meeting. The Union Party halted, formed across the Street, & demanded that their opponents should immediately disperse or they should be attacked by the Union men. The Nullifyers did accordingly disperse, but there were among them many disposed to be mischievous. While the two parties were facing each other almost within reach, three of the Union Leaders Messrs Petigru, Drayton & Poinsett, each received a blow, but from unknown hands who immediately sneaked into the crowd for concealment; The Gentlemen were not much hurt.

"The Union Party found it necessary to establish Ward Guards for mutual protection & self defence, & these too were assailed. On one occasion the Nullifyers succeeded in surprising the Union station, & beat & ill-used the Occupants; On four other occasions they were repulsed, & in one of the four a single gun loaded with small shot was fired into the midst of them before they would retire; some few felt it & it was a hint to the rest, but it did no harm. In these collisions the Officers & Leaders of the Nullifyers tried in good faith to prevent them, & sooth the angry feelings on both sides; but in order to keep up a distinction; they recommended that their men should all wear in their hats a light blue Cockade, of a Conical Shape—called the blue button.

"The vessels of the Government were stationed thus; the Sloop of War Natchez within grape Shot of the Battery south of East Bay, & the Cutters about Cablelength from each other in a line North of the Natchez; except One of them the Polk under Captain Jackson which lay in the Anchorage between Forts Moultrie & Castle Pinckney. While lying in this position, the Armament & discipline of a Man of War became an Object of Curiosity to the Ladies & Gentlemen of Charleston. At certain hours of each day, they were politely welcomed on board, and every

part of the Ship freely thrown open to them. No distinction was made between those of the two Parties, unless when a blue button appeared, & then the Officers of the Ship were very polite to the wearer (an acknowledged Nullifyer). The Visiters on board were entertained with Promenades about the Decks, & then with Music, Dancing & Refreshments, Fruits, &C. The Guns of the Forts were understood to be well found, & ready for action if necessary, with Mortars in Castle Pinckney for throwing Shells into Charleston, whenever hostilities might commence. A Battery of heavy Cannon was likewise constructed N° East of the City on Smiths Wharf, then hired as a Naval Station, & the Guns pointed against the Citadel & against the Causeway in Meet'g St Road, by which it was understood that the State troops would be marched into Cha^ston, & stationed at & in the Citadel.

"The Nullifyers & State Authorities were likewise preparing for the *Ultima Ratio*, under their Laws & Ordinances. Arms, Ammunition & Provisions were provided & distributed to the different selected Stations in & out of Charleston, except where from the election returns, it was found that a Majority of the Union Party unquestionably existed. Volunteers were accepted, armed, & trained in all the other portions of the State, & held under Orders that they should be ready at a moments warning, to march into Cha^ston which it was well understood would be the battle ground in case of hostilities. Among those organized in Cha^ston was a body of Artillerists under Col. J. L. Wilson, who had a battery of heavy Cannon on Magwoods Wharf commanding the rear of Castle Pinckney, the channel of Cooper River, & Hog Island Channel. By means of the Test Oath they had got clear of many of the Militia Officers in the low & middle Country, who as Union men had refused to take that Oath, & their places had been supplied with enthusiasts in their Cause. The State Officers held all the Stores, depots & arms in every part of the State, the northern & eastern Districts excepted. Here, the majority of Union men was so great that the Officers either refused to resign, or if they resigned were sure of being reelected.[1]

[1] "About this time many strangers were in Charleston & among them some attracted by curiosity, to witness the impending events. At the Balls which were then given, Ladies of both parties were invited reciprocally; some of them attended each others parties & were welcomed with polite attentions; the Gentlemen were much more shy of each other. On one occasion a gallant young Nullifyer exclaimed 'The ladies are all for Union—to a man.' Not all said a young Lady

"At this Crisis another effort was made to prevent the payment of Duties on imported Goods. A fast-sail'g vessel was expected in Port, & her owner agreed to try & force her up to the Wharves where her cargo might be rapidly landed & dispersed before the Custom h. Officers could have the means of preventing it. Orders had been issued to Capt Jackson of the Cutter Polk, to bring every vessel to Anchor arriving from a foreign Port, until a signal was made from the Custom H— that the Duties had been secured according to Law. One of the Pilots was engaged to run up this Vessel to the City notwithstanding the opposition of the Revenue Cutter. He accordingly disregarded the Revenue Cutter & crowded all sail to pass up. Capt Jackson pursued & overtook her but the Pilot would not obey his Order to come to. He then ran the Cutter along side & leaped upon the Ships deck; still the Pilot held his course, & did not quit the helm until he saw the drawn sword of Capt Jackson raised against his life. The Ship was then put about, brought back to her place of anchorage, & detained there until the Duties were secured, & a signal given from the Custom house to allow her to pass up. One of the State Rights Party was overheard saying—'they are too strong for us, but we must strike a blow, we may still take one of their Forts or Vessels, & will do so before we surrender.' Notice of this intention was given to the U. S. Officers that they might not be taken by surprise. Accordingly in a dark night a large Canoe fitted for 12 or 14 Oarsmen was observed rowing up astern of the Cutter Polk, as she lay at anchor, with her netting all hoisted & her watch on the look out. Only a few men appeared rowing the boat who on being hailed answered like Country negroes, and were ordered off. They however pulled the stronger in the same direction, until threatened to be fired into. They then perceived that the matches were lighted, the lanterns burning, & the boarding Nets hoisted, and the Cannon pointed at the Canoe. They then rowed off and reported progress.

"One of the most talented & influential of the State Rights leaders, not satisfied with the representations that every thing had been tried in vain, came down from Columbia to see & judge for himself. He went on board of the Natchez with

promptly. I will have nothing to do with the Union. But said a friend at her elbow, you know that you would like to *capture* that handsome U. S. Officer. . . . Oh said the fair Carolinian, I only wish to bring him over to our side; to *your own side* you mean, rejoined her discerning friend."

others, & thought with reason that everything was there put in order for the public eye. He also hired a boat & went about the harbour inspecting the location & state of preparation, at different times of day & night. In one of these trips, he passed close to the Natchez while all were under arms, & practising a Sham-fight, or naval engagement. They were all at the moment repelling supposed boarders; with the Netting hoisted, a part of the Crew were thrusting their boarding Pikes through it; some were working the Cannon with lighted matches,—the Marines were firing in Platoons from the Quarter Deck & Tops, while others on the Spars were ready to light & throw their hand Grenades. The Gentleman was perfectly satisfied & in a few days the Circus Meetg was convened.

"The Central Com^tee^ had frequent consultations with the Army & Navy commanders on various interesting subjects; concerted with them the Signals to be given & returned on various occurrences, & what would be expected of the Union Party in case of an attack. It was agreed that in such an event the Union Party should seize the Alarm Gun & Church Bells, & take possession of the Guardhouse. It was also agreed that if unable to hold the City, they should seize on the Peninsula of Hampstead about a mile N° E. of Cha'ton & intrench themselves there.

"The Central Com^tee^ had also frequent confidential meetings by themselves. On one occasion a measure was proposed, which at first view appeared very plausible to several of them. Mr Petigru prudently remarked that they should be very careful to keep their proceedings within the Law. That this was their surest protection against the other Party, who would probably commit themselves by some hasty or lawless Act. This observation probably led to the appeals made to the Courts of Law for cooler considerations, all of which resulted against the nullifying or State R^t^ Party. The first of these was on a Custom-house Bond given for the Duties on an importation of "plains." The Signer & Securities of the Bond objected to the payment on different Pleas, wishing the question of their liability to be submitted to a Jury, which Jury would not decide in favor of the U. S. Government. The cause was very ably argued before Judge Lee U. S. Dis^t^ C^t^ by the Dis^t^ Atty. Gilchrist & Mr Petigru against such reference; & advocated by W. P. Finley & Geo. M^c^Duffie. The Judge decided against the Pleas—the handwriting of the different signers on the Bond was then proved, & a verdict given in favor of the Govern^t^.

An appeal was entered, & all the notes, proceedings & arguments submitted to Judge Wm Johnson, then in bad health in North Carolina. He confirmed the decision of Judge Lee, & the Bond was finally paid. This was a Trial of great interest to both Parties. M^r McDuffie of very high reputation for talents, was sent for & came down from Abbe-ville to engage in the defence, & Mr Petigru volunteered in behalf of the Union Party to aid Mr Gilchrist the then District Attorney in prosecuting the Suit.

"Two other causes arose in the State Circuit Courts, & were both carried by appeal up to the Supreme Court. These both originated in the Test Oath Act. Both were argued ably in Columbia at the Court of Appeals. Judges O'Neal & Dav^d Johnson decided against the constitutionality of the Test Oath. Judge Harper was in favor of it, but did not enter upon much argument on the subject.

"It will be recollected that in the Ordinance of the Convention & in the Act of the S° Car^a Legislature dated Decr 1832 it was provided that no Duties should be paid on Importations from foreign Countries into S° Car^a after the 1st Feby 1833. These were published as the Laws of S° Car^a, which none could violate with impunity, & none but the Courts of Law could set aside. Notwithstanding the formality & force of these enactments, a number of the State Rights Party in Cha^ston resolved to hold a Meeting of their Associates on the 21st Jany 1833, only ten days preceding the time appointed by the high Authorities of the State, for resisting the Power of the Union in collecting the duties on such importations. That informal Party meeting resolved that such resistance was inexpedient at that time, & must be postponed until the adjournment of the next Congress. That meeting of only a part of the State Rights Party, resolved to nullify the proceedings of their whole Party, in the Convention & in the Legislature, & to suspend the execution of their enactments; & this nullification was acquiesced in by the rest of their party.[1]

[1] "A direct attempt to evade the payment of Duties to the Government about this time was made by Genl Ja^s Hamilton. He shipped some of his own Rice to Havannah & ordered the proceeds to be returned in Sugar. The Sugar arrived & the Vessel was brought to anchor in the appointed place, by the Vigilant Captain of the Cutter. Genl Hamilton would not enter or bond it, or pay the Duties hoping that it would be landed in Cha^ston & he obtain possession by *some means*. But Mr Pringle the Collector arranged it otherwise, he ordered the Sugar to be landed on Sullivan's Island & stored in Fort Moultrie in one of its arched entrances. Hamilton had been heard saying to some of his Adherents,

"At this time the State of Virginia resolved to mediate & appease the dissensions in S° Car^a, & sent for that purpose one of her most distinguished Citizens Benj^a Watkins Leigh to bear the Olive Branch. He arrived on the 4th Feby & proceeded with great tact & judgment. He was kindly & courteously received by both of the contending Parties, & mediated personally with the most distinguished leaders on both sides. Great deference & respect was paid to him not only for his personal worth, but as an especial Messenger from the State of Virginia. It was accordingly arranged that another Convention should be convened, & that no violent measures should be pursued in the interim. The Convention met accordingly on the 11th March 1833 & Gov. Hayne brought the business before them by inclosing the friendly & flattering letter which he had received from Mr Leigh—Commissioner from Virginia. This was referred to a Com^tee of 21, who promptly reported an Ordinance repealing the Ordinance of Novr 1832, & this was adopted by the Convention. But many of the members could not divest themselves of the irritation long entertained, & of their purposes defeated. These were leveled against the Union Party, & of their sense of obligation of allegiance to the Federal Government. Some warm discussion ensued & some intemperate expressions used, but the majority concurred in accepting Mr Clay's Bill which had passed in Congress, as a compromise of their difference with the Federal Government.

"But as to the Law imposing a Test Oath, the State Rights Party were disappointed in its validity by the decisions of the Courts. They therefore determined so to amend the Constitution as to require of every one holding an Office, that he should previously take an Oath that his Allegiance to S° Carolina would be considered by him paramount to all other obligations. A clause to this effect actually passed the Legislature in Novr 1833 but as an Amendment of the Constitution, it was necessary that the same should be reconsidered & ratified at another session of the Legislature. The prospect of this becoming a part of the Constitution alarmed the Union Party in S° C^a particularly in the Northern parts of the State, lest they should be involved by it in Disunion, & cease to be Citizens of the United States, or fail to be protected in case of need by the Federal Gov^t.

'We will have to fight for that Sugar.' He no doubt hoped for some opportunity to do so, but none offered & after the Compromise he paid the Duty & *storage*, on which the Sugars were given up to him."

The Union Party determined to resist this change in the Constitution, & if it should finally pass, that they would appeal to arms in defence of their Rights as American Citizens. Spartanburgh was appointed as their place of Rendezvous, & in this state of anxious suspense they awaited the Legislative Action. The Central Com^tee^ determined to try the effect of personal influence, talent & address to prevent the impending evils of Civil War. They appointed Mr J. L. Petigru & Col. R. Blanding to meet their former friends at the Session in Columbia and prevent if possible the contemplated enactment. They attended accordingly & in personal interviews and conferences with Genl Ja^s^ Hamilton & other influential persons of the State Rights Party, they finally succeeded but with great difficulty. The Clause adopted at the previous meeting of the Legislature as an amendment of the Constitution, was insisted on by its former advocates, it could neither be rejected nor altered, but they consented that the following Proviso should be appended as a part of it. 'Provided however that nothing expressed in the above obligation shall be construed to impair the Allegiance of any Citizen of S° Carolina to the Federal Government.' Or words to that effect, for by some obliquity in the Record or in the Publication of the Laws, this Proviso has not been printed with the Ratification.

"Both parties assented to this compromise Peace was again restored to S° Carolina & Genl M^c^Duffie was elected Governor in Decr 1834."

The foregoing account presents a vivid picture of the position taken by the Union men in South Carolina during the Nullification excitement. Nothing is more remarkable about it than the spirit of obedience which they showed for the supreme law of the land, because it was the law, and their determination to appeal for relief to the law only as it had been administered among them from the period of the adoption of the Constitution, as well as their unwillingness to rouse revolutionary passions in the conflict. The action of their State had not merely made void an act of Congress,—creating an alleged grievance from which the rest of the country suffered in common with them,—but its effect was to deny them the protection of their own courts and virtually to disfranchise them. Under these trying circumstances they were bold but not boastful, and, unmoved by the clamor of

their former friends and neighbors, they formed the strongest support to the General Government when it put forth its strong arm to help them. A good deal of their forbearance and determination to confine their action within the strict limits of the law was due to the personal character of their leaders. They belonged to the very *élite* of that social aristocracy which held undisputed sway in Carolina up to the period of the war of the rebellion, and their opponents, whose chiefs were of the same class, and who had known them well during their whole lives, always recognized not merely the force and earnestness of their convictions, but also their personal courage and the perfect purity and integrity of their motives.

In considering their methods of resistance to the lawless acts of the Nullifiers, the first question for the Union men to determine was how far and in what way they would be supported by the General Government. All parties in South Carolina had concurred in voting for General Jackson as President in 1828, and he was well known at that time to have favored the enactment of a tariff law which would levy only such an amount of money as would suffice to defray the expenses of the Government and pay the interest on the public debt. The intending Nullifiers during the year 1830, well knowing General Jackson's opposition to the "American system," as it was called, spread far and wide the report not only that the President and many of his personal and political friends sympathized with them in their opposition to a protective tariff, but also that he would hesitate to execute a Federal law in South Carolina which the people of that State should declare to be inoperative within her borders. The first thing, therefore, naturally was to ascertain the exact position of the President on this question. Mr. Poinsett, as their leader and organ, accordingly wrote the following letter to President Jackson:

"CHARLESTON 23 Octr. 1830

"DEAR SIR

"When we parted at Washington in May last, I mentioned to you, that I was returning to Carolina in order to

oppose, by every influence I might possess there, the strange and pernicious doctrines advanced by some of the leading men of our state and which, if not counteracted might lead to the most serious and fatal consequences. On that occasion I understood you to say, that you regarded them as 'utter madness;' and I left Washington in the firm conviction, that I was acting in conformity with your wishes and for the good of our common country in controverting doctrines, which I regard as subversive of the best interests of that country, and in declaring myself opposed to principles which, if they could be detected in the letter or spirit of our constitution by any subtlety of the human intellect, would render that instrument a worthless document, would entirely destroy the practical utility of our confederation and convert our bond of union into a rope of sand.

"On my arrival in Columbia, where I went in order to ascertain the extent of the evil, and that my sentiments might be more generally known throughout the State, I found the public mind poisoned by the opinions uttered at Washington by our leading politicians there, and by the pernicious doctrines of the President of the College, Dr. Cooper, whose talents and great acquirements give weight to his perverse principles, and make him doubly dangerous. On conversing confidentially with several old and valued friends in that place I found that they too, deprecated the measures proposed to be adopted as a remedy against the operation of the tariff law; but regarded opposition as hopeless against such an array as had declared in favor of nullification. I found the same sentiments prevailing and the same fears entertained among the moderate men in Charleston; but after frequent conferences with my friends Judge Huger, Mr. Petigru, Mr. Pringle, Dr. Johnson and others it was resolved at all hazards to organize an opposition to schemes which we considered likely to prove so ruinous in their consequences. In this determination we were confirmed and very much aided by Col. Drayton's honorable and public declaration of his sentiments in favor of the union.

"The Nullifiers try to make us believe that the union party are acting against your wishes. This has been already and on several occasions broadly asserted by the advocates of the rights of the states to nullify the laws of the general government and besides the respectable names of the Vice Prest., of W. McDuffie, Genl Hayne and Major Hamilton we have had to contend against these assertions of your views on this question, which the censure

or dismissal of Mr Pringle would tend to confirm, for he is I believe the only officer of the general gov. in Charleston in favor of the Union party. The opposition which was commenced in Charleston has been extended throughout the rest of the state and the favorable result of the elections leads us to hope, that we shall prevent the call of a convention, which might have ended in an act of insurrection, for I can regard in no other light the consequences of this state nullifying an act of Congress. It has been asserted of us that we have been induced to oppose ourselves to these doctrines because we are in favor of Mr. Clay and of the American system. This Mr. President is not so. Mr. Clay and his system have no partizans in this state & so entirely do we rely upon your wisdom and sense of justice that we hoped that you would finally obtain for us a modification of the system wh really is injurious and oppressive in its operation upon us. We severally and universally desire, that you should consent to serve another term."

It seems, however, that a similar letter referring to the rumor prevalent in South Carolina had been written about the same time to the President by Mr. Robert Oliver, of Baltimore. To this letter General Jackson at once replied, and his answer may be regarded as intended not only for him but for Mr. Poinsett also.

"WASHINGTON, Octobr. 26th 1830

"DEAR SIR

"I had the honour this evening to receive your letter of the 25th instant with its enclosure and agreeable to your request herewith return it, with a tender of my thanks for this token of your friendship & regard.

"I had supposed that every one acquainted with me knew that I was opposed to the nulifying Doctrine, and my toast at the Jefferson dinner was sufficient evidence of the fact. I am convinced there is not one member of Congress who is not convinced of this fact for on all occasions I have been open & free upon this subject. The South Carolinians, as a whole, are too patriotic to adopt such *mad projects* as the nulifyers of that State propose.

"That Mr Van Buren should be suspected of such opinions is equally strange.

"I am sir with great respect
"& regard, your mo obdt servt
"ANDREW JACKSON

"ROBERT OLIVER ESQ."

The "Jefferson dinner" to which General Jackson refers was an entertainment given on the 15th of April, 1830, in Washington, to celebrate Mr. Jefferson's birthday. The occasion was secretly and adroitly taken advantage of by the Nullifiers and those who sympathized with them to obtain from the leaders of the Democratic party in Washington, and especially from the members of the Cabinet, an expression of opinion that their proceedings would not be interfered with by the General Government. The President was a guest at this dinner, and he was not long in discovering what was expected of him by many of those present. He is said to have sat stern and silent, evidently trying hard to suppress the violent emotions which agitated him. He found relief when called upon for a toast, when he rose and said calmly but most earnestly to the astounded assembly who had hoped to entrap him, "THE FEDERAL UNION—IT MUST BE PRESERVED." The Vice-President, Mr. Calhoun, was then called upon, and this was his toast: "The Union, —next to our liberty the most dear. May we all remember that it can only be preserved by respecting the rights of the States, and distributing equally the benefit and the burthen of the Union."

The day of this Jefferson celebration seems to me one of the most noteworthy in our history. On that day the issue between the Union and the Disunion parties was distinctly and finally made up; each party prepared for the inevitable conflict, and each knew under what leader it would serve. General Jackson's honesty and inflexible will were even then pretty well understood by those friends and foes who had for their own reasons studied his character, and it became now clear to all that the Union men in South Carolina, in their struggle for the supremacy of the Federal law, would be supported by the whole force of the General Government, with the President at its head. The Nullifiers had failed utterly in securing that sympathy of the administration upon which they had so fully counted. They were so much discouraged and disappointed that, although violent and revolutionary talk was still the fashion in South Carolina,

no active efforts were made there to carry out their plans until more than two years later. Meanwhile, the Union party in South Carolina was much encouraged in organizing its powers of resistance.

In July, 1832, Congress passed an act reducing the duties levied by the tariff of 1828 on certain articles, and removing them entirely from tea, coffee, etc., by which it was calculated that the revenue from customs would be reduced three or four millions of dollars, or from twenty to twenty-five per cent. When Congress met in December, 1832, it was proposed by the Committee of Ways and Means still further to reduce the revenue levied under the act of 1828 about thirteen millions of dollars. General Jackson was re-elected President by a great majority in the autumn of 1832, and a sufficiently large number of members of the Congress which was to meet in December, 1833, had been chosen at the same time to render it apparent that the anti-tariff party would be largely in the majority in that Congress. Notwithstanding all these concessions present and prospective to the Free-trade party, and apparently in total contempt for the spirit of conciliation which was manifested by them in every part of the country, the leaders in South Carolina determined upon revolutionary proceedings. These proceedings, no doubt, confirmed the belief which had widely prevailed, that the cause of discontent in that State lay far deeper than the tariff, and that its removal would not remedy it. On the 24th of November, 1832, the convention in South Carolina adopted the ordinance of nullification and threatened secession, and the Legislature immediately afterwards passed laws to enforce its provisions. These measures are so fully described in Dr. Johnson's narrative that it is not necessary to explain them further here. Their effect was not only to place the State in a hostile attitude to the Government of the United States, but also to place those citizens of the State who were loyal to the Union beyond the pale of the protection of the State laws. Under these circumstances the Union men of South Carolina, through Mr. Poinsett, appealed to the Government

for advice as to the course which they as supporters of the Union should pursue, and for aid in resisting these measures should it become necessary. How this appeal was met by the President is best told in the eight letters addressed by him to Mr. Poinsett, which, as far as we know, are now printed for the first time. It is thought better to give them in a connected series as presenting the most faithful picture of the attitude of the President during the whole of this unhappy dispute, from the beginning until all danger of an armed resistance to the execution of the laws of the United States had passed away. As soon as the ordinance of nullification reached the President, he issued, on the 10th of December, 1832, his proclamation denouncing the revolutionary proceedings in South Carolina, and expressing his determination to execute the laws of the Government of the United States. Early in January he sent a special message to Congress asking that specific powers should be given him to close any port in South Carolina where armed resistance should be made to the collection of import duties, and during such suspension to establish custom-houses in places on land or on naval vessels in harbors where such resistance was not to be expected. The Judiciary Committee reported a bill, commonly called the "Force Bill," giving him the powers he asked for, but this bill was not passed until the close of the session in March. Indeed, from the view which General Jackson had of his duty it was hardly necessary. The President, as will be seen by his letters, needed no act of Congress either to shield him from responsibility or to give him authority to perform the constitutional duty he had assumed "faithfully to execute the laws." But the story is best told in his letters:

(No. 1.)

"(Confidential)

"WASHINGTON, Nov^br 7th 1832.

"DEAR SIR,

"This will be handed to you by my young friend George Breathitt Esqr, brother of the present Governor of Ken-

tucky, in whom every confidence may be reposed. I beg leave to make him known to you as such.

"Mr Breathitt goes to your state & city as agent for the post office Depart. he bears instructions from the secretary of the Treasury to the collector of charleston, but we want him only known as agent of the Post office.

"I wish him to see the Fts and revenue cutters in your harbour and to visit Sullivan's Island. This to be done merely as a stranger having curiosity to examine your capacity for defence and facilities for commerce, to your polite aid I recomend him for this object.

"I have instructed him to obtain the real intentions of the nullifyers whether they mean really to resort to force to prevent the collection of the revenue and to resist the due execution of the laws and if so what proof exists to show that the imputations against important individuals and officers of the government in being engaged in advising, aiding and abetting in this threatened nullification and rebellious course are true.

"It is desirable that the Executive should be in possession of all the evidence on these points, and I have referred Mr. Breathitt to you & Col. Drayton believing that you will afford *him* all the knowledge you possess.

"Mr. Breathitt is charged with the enquiry what officers, if any, in the Customs or post office Department belong to or have adhered to the Nullifyers—and the character of Mr. Pruson Simpson from whom I have recd a long letter to day, and all & every information of the views and measures of the Nullifyers which they mean to adopt.

"We have been looking for some information from some friend of the Union in that quarter but have hitherto been disappointed, but it appears a crisis is about to approach when the government must act, & that with energy—my own astonishment is that my fellow citizens of So Carolina should be so far deluded, by the wild theory and sophistry of a few ambitious demagogues, as to place themselves in the attitude of rebellion against their Government, and become the destroyers of their own prosperity and liberty. There appears in their whole proceedings nothing but madness and folly. If grievances do exist there are constitutional means to redress them—Patriots would seek those means only.

"The duty of the Executive is a plain one, the laws will be executed and the Union preserved by all the constitutional and legal means he is invested with, and I rely with

great confidence on the support of every honest patriot in S° Carolina who really loves his country and the prosperity and happiness we enjoy under our happy and peaceful republican government.

"*By the return* of Mr. Breathitt I shall expect to hear from you.

"With my sincere regards

"I am yr mo. ob^dt^ serv^t^

"ANDREW JACKSON

"JOEL POINSETT Esqr."

(No. 2.)

"December 2^d^ 1832.

"MY D^R^ SIR,

"Your two letters of Nov. 24 & 25th last have been received and I hasten to answer them.

"I fully concur with you in your views of nullification. It leads directly to civil war and bloodshed and deserves the execration of every friend of the country. Should the civil power with your aid as a *posse comitatus* prove not strong enough to carry into effect the laws of the Union you have a right to call upon the Government for aid and the executive will yield it as far as he has been vested with the power by the constitution and the laws made in pursuance thereof.

"The precautionary measures spoken of in your last letter have been in some degree anticipated. Five thousand stand of muskets with corresponding equipments have been ordered to Castle Pinckney; and a Sloop of war with a smaller armed vessel (the Experiment) will reach Charleston harbor in due time. The commanding officer of Castle Pinckney will be instructed by the Secretary of War to deliver the arms and their equipment to your order, taking a receipt for them and should the emergency arise he will furnish to your requisition such ordnance and ordnance stores as can be spared from the arsenals.

"The Union must be preserved and its laws duly executed, but by proper means. With calmness and firmness such as becomes those who are conscious of being right and are conscious of the support of public opinion we must perform our duties without suspecting that there are those around us desiring to tempt us with the wrong. We must act as the instruments of the law and if force is offered to us in that capacity then we shall repel it with the certainty, that even should we fall as individuals the friends of liberty and union will still be strong enough to prostrate their enemies.

Your Union men should act in concert. Their designation as Unionists should teach them to be prepared for every emergency: and inspire them with the energy to overcome any impediment that may be thrown in the way of the laws of their constitution, whose cause is now not only their cause but that of free institutions throughout the world. They should recollect that perpetuity is stamped upon the constitution by the blood of our Fathers, by those who achieved as well as those who improved our system of free Government. For this purpose was the principle of amendment inserted in the constitution which all have sworn to support and in violation of which no state or states have the right to secede, much less to dissolve the union. Nullification therefore means insurrection and war; and the other states have a right to put it down. And you also and all other peaceable citizens have a right to aid in the same patriotic object when summoned by the violated laws of the land. Should an emergency occur for the arms before the order of the Secretary of War to the commanding officer to deliver them to your order, show this to him & he will yield a compliance.

"I am great haste

"Y^r ms ob^dt servt.

"ANDREW JACKSON

"J. R. POINSETT Esqr."

(No. 3.)

Dec^br 9th 1832, WASHINGTON.

"MY D^R SIR,

"Your letters were this moment recd. from the hands of Col. Drayton, read & duly considered, and in haste I reply. The true spirit of patriotism that they breathe fills me with pleasure. If the Union party unite with you, heart & hand in the text you have laid down, you will not only preserve the Union, but save our native state, from that ruin and disgrace into which her treasonable leaders have attempted to plunge her. All the means in my power, I will employ to enable her own citizens, those faithful patriots, who cling to the union, to put it down.

"The proclamation I have this day issued, & which I enclose you, will give you my views, of the treasonable conduct of the convention & the Governors recommendation to the assembly—it is not merely rebellion, but the act of raising troops positive treason, and I am assured by all the members of congress with whom I have conversed that I will be sustained by congress. If so I will meet it at the

threshold, and have the leaders arrested and arraigned for treason—I am only waiting to be furnished with the acts of your Legislature, to make a communication to congress, ask the means necessary to carry my proclamation into complete effect, and by an exemplary punishment of those leaders for treason so unprovoked, put down this rebellion, & strengthen our happy Government both at home and abroad.

"My former letter & the communication from the Dept of War, will have informed you of the arms and equipments having been laid in Deposit subject to your requisition, to aid the civil authority in the due execution of the law, whenever called on as the *posse comitatus &c &c.*

"The vain threats of resistance by those who have raised the standard of rebellion show their madness & folly. You may assure those patriots, who cling to their country, & this Union, which alone secures our liberty & prosperity and happiness, that in forty days, I can have within the limits of S° Carolina fifty thousand men, and in forty days more another fifty thousand. How impotent the threat of resistance with only a population of 250,000 whites & nearly that double in blacks, with our ships in the port, to aid in the execution of our laws! The wickedness, madness & folly of the leaders and the delusion of their followers, in the attempt to destroy themselves and our union has not its paralell in the history of the world—The Union will be preserved. The safety of the republic, the supreme law, which will be promptly obeyed by me.

"I will be happy to hear from you often, thro' Col. Mason or his son, if you think the post office unsafe.

"I am with sincere respect

"Y^r mo. obdt. servt.

"ANDREW JACKSON

"MR POINSETT"

(No. 4.)

"(Private)

"WASHINGTON, Jany 16th 1833.

"MY D^R SIR,

"This day I have communicated to both houses of Congress the Enclosed message, which has been referred to the committees on the judiciary, who, we have a right to believe, will promptly report a bill giving all the power asked for.

"I have rec^d several letters from gentlemen in S° Caro-

lina, requesting to be furnished with the means of defence. Mr I Graham, an old revolutionary patriot, a Mr Harrison and Col Levy—I have requested Genl Blair to inform Col Levy to apply to you & I request that you will make it known confidentially, that when necessary, you are authorized, & will furnish the necessary means of defence.

"Mr. Calhoun let off a little of his ire against me to day in the Senate, but was so agitated, & confused that he made quite a failure, was replied to, with great dignity & firmness, by Major Forsyth—Calhoun finds himself between Scylla & Charybdis & is reckless—My great desire is that the union men may put nullification & secession down in S° Carolina themselves and save the character of the state, & add thereby to the stability of our Union—you can rely on every aid that I can give—only advise me of the action of the nullifyers,—The moment they are in hostile array in opposition to the execution of the laws, let it be certified to me, by the attY for the District *or the Judge*, and I will forthwith order the leaders prosecuted, & *arrested*—if the Marshal is resisted by 12,000 bayonets, I will have his possee 24,000—but the moment this rebellious faction finds it is opposed by the good people of that state, with a resolution becoming free men and worthy the name of Americans and under the protection of the union it will yield to the power of the land, and they will return to their obedience.

"I write in great haste, late at night, and much fatigued, & indisposed by a bad cold—You will excuse this scrawl it is for your own eye—write me often, & give me the earliest intelligence of the first armed force that appears in the field to sustain the ordinance—The first act of treason committed, unites to it, all those who have *aided & abetted in* the execution to the act—we will strike at the head and demolish the monster, Nullification & secession, at the threshold by the power of the law.

"I am very respectfully
"yr mo. obdt servt
"ANDREW JACKSON

"JOEL R. POINSETT ESQR."

(No. 5.)

WASHINGTON January 24th 1833.

"MY DEAR SIR,

"I have recd yours of the 16th 19th & 20th instant, that of the 16th late last night & hasten to reply by the return express which will leave here early to-morrow.

"My Message to Congress, forwarded to you by the last express was referred to the committee in each house, on the judiciary—that of the Senate has reported a bill which you will receive from the secretary of the Treasury by the conveyance that will hand you this—you will see from a perusal, that it contains, with the powers you possessed, every authority necessary to enable the executive to execute the revenue laws, and protect your citizens engaged in their support, & to punish all who may attempt to resist their execution by force. This bill has been made the order of the day for Monday next, and altho this delay has been submitted to by the Senate, still I have no doubt but it will pass by a very large majority in both Houses—There will be some intemperate discussion on the bill & on Calhoun's and Grundy's resolutions.

"It was my duty to make known to Congress, being in session, the state of the Union; I withheld to the last moment to give Congress time to act before the first of February—Having done my duty in this respect, should Congress fail to act on the bill, and I shall be informed of the illegal assemblage of an armed force with intention to oppose the execution of the revenue laws, under the late ordinance of S° Carolina, I stand—prepared forthwith to issue my proclamation warning them to disperse. Should they fail to comply with the proclamation, I will forthwith call into the field, such a force as will overawe resistance, put treason & rebellion down without blood, and arrest and hand over to the judiciary for trial and punishment, the leaders, exciters and promoters of this rebellion & treason.

"You need not fear the assemblage of a large force at Charleston—give me early information, officially, of the assemblage of a force armed, to carry into effect the ordinance & laws, nullifying our revenue laws, and to prevent their execution, and in ten or fifteen days at farthest I will have in Charleston from ten to fifteen thousand men well organized troops, well equipped for the field—and twenty thousand, or thirty, more, in the interior. I have a tender of volunteers from every state in the Union—I can, if need be, which God forbid, march two hundred thousand men in forty days to quell any, & every insurrection, or rebellion that might arise to threaten our glorious confederacy & Union, upon which our liberty prosperity & happiness rest.

"I repeat to the union men again fear not, *the union will be preserved* & treason and rebellion promptly put down, when, & where it may show its monster head. You may rest

assured that the nullies of Carolina will receive no aid from any quarter—They have been encouraged by a few from Georgia and Virginia, but the united voice of the yeomanry of the country and the tender of volunteers from every state have put this down—They well know I will execute the laws, and that the whole people will support me in it, and preserve the Union. Even if the Governor of Virginia should have the folly to attempt to prevent the Militia from marching thro' his state to put the faction in S° Carolina down & place himself at the head of an armed force for such a wicked purpose, I would arrest him at the head of his troops, & hand him over to the civil authority for trial. The voluntiers of his own state would enable me to do this. I repeat again, my pride and desire is, that the Union men may arouse & sustain the majesty of the constitution & the laws, and save my native state from that disgrace that the Nullifiers have brought upon her. Give me early intelligence of the assemblage of an armed force anywhere in the state, under the ordinance & the laws to nullify & resist the revenue laws of the United States, and you may rest assured I will act promptly and do my duty to God and my country, & relieve the good citizens of that despotism & tyranny, under which the supporters of the Union now labour.

"On yesterday the tariff bill (Verplancks) would have passed the House of representatives had it not have been for a very insulting & irritating speech by Wilde of Georgia which has thrown the whole of Pennsylvania New York & Ohio into a flame—I am told there is great excitement, and no hopes now of its passing this session. It is further believed that the speech was made for this purpose, at the instigation of the nullies, who wish no accommodation of the tariff—This will unite the whole people against the nullifiers, & instead of carrying the South with the nullies, will have the effect to arouse them against them when it is discovered their object is nothing but disunion. The House sat late & I have not heard from it since 7 o'clock—I must refer you to M^r McLane for further information as it is very late & my eyes grow dim—keep me well advised & constantly—The arms are placed subject to your requisition, and under your discretion I keep no copy, nor have I time to correct this letter—

"In haste very respectfully
"Your Friend
"ANDREW JACKSON

"J. R. POINSETT ESQ^R."

(No. 6.)

"WASHINGTON CITY February 7th 1833.

"Dr SIR,

"Yours of the 27th and 28th ultimo have been handed me by Mr Smith—that of the 30th thro' Col. Drayton has also been recd. Their contents being considered I hasten to reply.

"The nullifiers in your state have placed themselves thus far in the wrong. They must be kept there notwithstanding all their tyranny and blustering conduct, until some act of force is committed or there is an assemblage of an armed force by the orders of your Governor under the ordinance and Replevin laws to resist the execution of the laws of the United States. The Executive of the United States has no legal and constitutional power to order the Militia into the field to suppress it until that time, and not then, until his proclamation commanding the insurgents to disperse has been issued. But this you may rely on, will be promptly done by the President the moment he is advised by proper affidavits that such is the condition of your state. You should not therefore fear the result of the movement anticipated from the upper country for the purpose of enforcing the odious and despotic *writ in withernam* should it really be made.

"Keep me advised of the first actual assemblage of an armed force in the upper part of your state, or in any other part of it, or in any part of the adjoining states, and before it reaches you I shall interpose a force for your protection and that of the city strong enough to overwhelm any effort to obstruct the execution of the laws. But bear in mind the fact that this step must be consequent upon the actual assemblage of such a force, or upon some overt act of its commission. In this event which I trust in God will not happen, I will act and with firmness, promptness and efficiency.

"I sincerely lament that there is a contingency so probable which menaces the safety of those who are acting with you to sustain the Union and laws of our happy country. But let what will happen remain at your post in the performance of this the highest of all duties. Be firm in the support of the Union: it is the sheet anchor of our liberty and prosperity—dissolve it and our fate will be that of unhappy Mexico. But it cannot be dissolved: the national voice from Maine to Louisiana with a unanimity and resolution never before exceeded declares that it shall be preserved, and those who are assailing it under the guise of nullification and secession shall be consigned to contempt and infamy.

"In resisting the tyrannic measures by which the ruling party in S° Carolina have proposed to obstruct the laws of the Union, you are thrown back upon the right of self defence. Deprived of the protection guaranteed to you by your own constitution, violent resistance to the tyranny which thus oppresses you becomes a duty, and in the performance of it the constitution and the laws of the United States will be your shield. Do not doubt that this shield will be upheld with all the power which I am or may be authorised to use.

"As soon as I am notified that the hostile array which you anticipate has been made the positions recommended as proper to be occupied for defence will be taken. Of this fact let me be notified by an express who will bring the proper evidences of it.

"I have regretted that your convention did not, as such, memorialise Congress to extend to you the guarantee of the constitution, of a republican form of Government, stating the actual despotism which now controls the state. The action of Congress on the subject would have placed your situation before the whole Union, and filled the heart of every true lover of his country and its liberties with indignation.

"I can order the regular troops to take any position which may be found necessary: but your own advice has been to 'do nothing to irritate.' When the crisis comes and I issue my proclamation, authority will be given to embody all volunteers enrolled for the support and execution of the laws, and the officers of the same of their own selection will be sanctioned by the president, as has been usual upon the receipt of the muster rolls.

"It has just been mentioned to me that a bet has been taken by a man supposed to be in the secrets of the nullifiers that the convention will be called and the odious ordinance repealed. God grant that this may be true. Let not this hope however lessen your watchfulness or your exertions—my pride is to save the character of my native state by the patriotism of its own citizens. Firmness on your part will do this.

"The Tariff will be reduced to the wants of the Government if not at this session of congress certainly at the next.

"Referring you to Mr. Smith I close this hasty scrawl with my prayers for yr happiness

"ANDREW JACKSON

"J. R. POINSETT ESQ^R."

(No. 7.)

"(Private)

"WASHINGTON February 17th 1833.

"MY DEAR SIR,

"I have just received your letter of the 9th instant, I never once thought, that the mission of Mr Leigh, with his powers, would be attended with any beneficial result whatever: It has only served to place the legislature of Virginia in a disagreeable attitude, and has done more harm than it can good. Had Virginia passed resolutions disapproving, as she has done, nullification, and admonishing the nullifiers to retrace their steps, this would have done much good, and instead of encouraging them in expecting her aid, would have caused them to have repealed their ordinance. The great body of the people of Virginia are firmly opposed to the course of the Legislature in this respect, and will support the United States nobly, should the crisis come, which I trust the firmness of the Union men may yet prevent.

"The bill granting the powers asked will pass into a law. Mr Webster replied to Mr Calhoun yesterday, and, it is said, demolished him. It is believed by more than one, that Mr C. is in a state of dementation—his speech was a perfect failure; and Mr Webster handled him as a child. I fear we have many nullifiers in Congress, who dare not openly appear;—the vote on the pending bill will unrobe them.

"I am delighted to learn that you will convene the Union Convention simultaneously with that of the nullifiers, or soon after. A bold and resolute stand will put them down, and you will thereby save the character of your State. When you recollect the noble cause you are defending,—that our precious union is the stake,—that the arm of the United States, sustained by nineteen twentieths of the whole people, is extended over you,—you cannot be otherwise than firm, resolute and inflexible. One resolution,—that you nail the United States colours to the mast, and will go down with the Union or live free; that you will, to your last breath, resist the tyranny and oppression of their ordinance, test oath and unconstitutional proceedings, will restore to you peace and tranquility, which a well adjusted tariff will confirm.

"Before the receipt of your letter Mr. Livingston had an interview with Mr Bankhead on the subject of the conduct of the British consul at Charleston. Mr Bankhead has written & admonished him that his *exequatur* will be revoked on his first act of interference. This I assure you, will be

done. I have only to request that you will give us the earliest intelligence that you can obtain of his having ordered a British squadron to the port of Charleston; and on an affidavit of the fact of one arriving there, his *exequatur* will be revoked.

"Keep me constantly advised of all movements in South Carolina,—the marshalling troops to oppose the execution of the laws of the U. States, affirmed on affidavit, and I will forthwith use all my powers under the constitution and the laws to put it down.

"with great respect
"Y^r friend
"ANDREW JACKSON

"J. R. POINSETT ESQ^R"

(No. 8.)

"WASHINGTON, March 6, 1833.

"MY DEAR SIR,

"Your letters of the 22nd & 28th ultimo are both before me, and I hasten to give you a reply by Col. Drayton, who leaves in the morning.

I rejoice at the firmness lately evinced by the Union party. The Bill more effectually securing the collection of the revenue, or, as some call it, the enforcing Bill has passed the House of Rep's by the unparalleled majority of 102. I say unparalleled because it has not happened, according to my recollection, in the course of our legislation, that any measure, so violently contested as this has been, has been sustained by such a vote. This Bill gives the death blow to Nullification or Secession, and, if the Nullifiers of your state have any regard for the Union, or the bold, but respectful expression of the peoples determination, *that the laws shall be executed*, and that no state shall secede at her will and pleasure, there will be no difficulty.

The Tariff Bill has also become a law, but was not passed until after the collection Bill. The passage of the Collection Bill proves to the world the fixed determination of Congress to execute, as far as their action was necessary, the laws passed in pursuance of the Constitution. I have always thought that Congress should reduce the Tariff to the wants of the Government, and the passage of such a Bill became peculiarly proper after Congress had, by the passage of the "enforcing' Bill, so fully shewn to the world that she was not to be deterred by a faction, which, if found in rebellion and treason, she was prepared to crush in an instant.

"The Bill which has passed is not of the exact character which I would have preferred, but it is hoped that it may have a good effect in the South, as most, if not all, of her prominent men gave it their support.

"Congress displayed, after shewing how little it regarded the threats of some South Carolinians a proper sense of justice to the people by making the reduction they did, and, to that extent, relieving the people of useless taxation.

"I am happy to learn that you intend moving on *pari passu* with the nullification party, and that your convention is called to meet at Charleston to be prepared to act, if necessary, in support of the *Union.*

"The stake is an important one, and the retention of it worthy the patriots best, and noblest efforts. If lost the world may bid adieu to liberty and all that is dear to freemen.

"Should the nullifiers be rash enough to attempt secession, and form a constitution and submit it to the people surely no one would countenance such an unauthorized act by voting on the question. I do not doubt but that those who love their country and our happy union would, in such event, be united to a man in their maintenance, and that the union convention would come forth in the majesty of her strength—which consists in the justice of her cause and the will of the people—in denunciation of such an unholy procedure.

"I have only time to say one word on the Subject of the union members attending the nullifying convention. My opinion is, that they ought to attend, but upon this condition that they present, with *boldness* and *talent*, the tyrannical, wicked and unconstitutional proceedings of the Nullifiers to the world, in all their naked deformity. The union party will always gain by coming in open contact with the Nullifiers.

"Reason must, when exercised, always triumph over error. Witness Calhoun's defeat in the Senate. If the nullifying convention determine on secession, and forming a new constitution the Union members ought, after entering their solemn protest against the proceedings immediately withdraw, and forthwith join the Union convention, which ought then to issue its proclamation, or determination, to adhere to, and support the Union of these United States, to the last extremity.

"I must refer you to Col. Drayton for the news of the city. Keep me constantly advised of matters relating to

the conduct or movements of the nullifiers, and all will be well, and the federal union preserved.

"Y^r Friend

"ANDREW JACKSON

"J. R. POINSETT ESQ^R."

These letters of General Jackson seem to me strikingly characteristic of the man. They are clear, bold, and decided in their tone, beginning, it will be observed, with a certain calm dignity, and then swelling with a *crescendo* of passionate indignation as the thought of the crime with which he is dealing fires his heart. They leave no doubt either as to his sentiments or his intentions. The cloud of sophistry, which the disunionists had thrown around the relations between the General Government and that of the States and the obligations of obedience to the supreme law of the land, disappears as it comes in contact with the strong, practical common sense of the President. In the position which he occupied he could see but one duty which he was called upon to perform, and that was to take care that the laws should be faithfully executed. His views of his duty may have been narrow, but they were exceedingly clear. In these letters there is not one word of sympathy for those who have taken revolutionary methods of righting what he in common with them regarded as a grievance. He makes no excuse or apology for any one who has been involved in the guilt of rebellion, and he waits only for the overt act, which shall make their act treasonable, to order their arrest and trial. He is so carried away by the earnestness of his desire to suppress armed resistance to the execution of the laws that he is utterly unyielding, even at times stern and pitiless. His business is not to advise or suggest compromises, still less to conciliate, but to act. He goes so far as to maintain that although an act of Congress may be useful in authorizing him to close the ports, yet that no such act is necessary to empower him to execute his constitutional duty of enforcing the execution of existing laws. Yet he had no design or intention of doing any arbitrary or illegal act. His duty he looked upon as completed when

he arrested traitors against the government, even, as he says, "the Governor of Virginia at the head of his troops," and handed them over to the courts, to be there tried and punished for their treason.

It may readily be conceived how these letters must have cheered and encouraged Mr. Poinsett and his friends and colleagues, the leaders of the Union party in South Carolina. The military forces of the State had been rapidly organized under its authority, and thousands of armed men from the country districts burned with impatience to sweep down upon Charleston and seize there the men who were loyal to the Union. During the early months of 1833 it cannot be doubted that the position of these men was one of great personal danger. They looked upon the measures which had been adopted by the General Government for the defence of Charleston (which are so graphically described in Dr. Johnson's narrative) as inadequate, and in their anxiety they naturally complained that the Government seemed slow in coming to their relief. The letters of two of these leaders, Mr. Poinsett and Judge Huger, at this crisis have been preserved, and they show how great was the alarm and how well-founded were their fears of danger.[1] These letters were addressed to Colonel Drayton, at that time a member of the House of Representatives from the Charleston district,—a man who did more and suffered more for the cause of the Union in those trying times than any other inhabitant of the State,—and it was intended that they should be laid before the President for his information and guidance. Some extracts from these letters may be given as disclosing the actual condition of affairs as it appeared to these leaders of what then seemed to be a "forlorn hope."

On the 8th of January, 1833, Mr. Poinsett writes:

[1] I am indebted to my friend Mr. Heyward Drayton for the letters which were addressed by Messrs. Poinsett and Huger to his father. These letters complete the secret and confidential correspondence between the chiefs of the Union party in 1832–33. It is a little singular that these letters, coming from such different quarters, should find a common resting-place in Philadelphia, and that they should now be used for the first time to vindicate the course taken by their authors.

"I am afraid that all hope of putting down nullification in this State by moral force must be abandoned—I most sincerely hope the vain blustering of these madmen will not influence the deliberations of Congress upon the tariff. Here a hope is cherished that nothing will be done in the matter this year as such a concession would confirm the power & the popularity of the Nullifiers of the State. I do not share this sentiment. Such a result is of minor importance. Let us destroy the monster, and try conclusions with these men afterwards. I am glad to hear your opinion of the sentiments of Congress respecting the secession of the State. I go for practical results rather than for metaphysical abstract rights. If a State should be allowed to secede our gov^t is at an end."

He then adds significantly,—

"I should like to have one hundred sabres, and as many pairs of pistols sent to the commanding officer here."

On the 16th of January he writes to Colonel Drayton,—

"I observe that you say that you have urged the Pres^t not to interfere with our party by affording them the aid of the Federal troops under *existing circumstances.* But what are we to do if Charleston is filled with Nullifiers from the country? The regular troops, Municipal and Magazine guards will consist of 150 men divided into two companies. The artillery is in the hands of our opponents, and even if we had ordnance we have no artillery men. Five thousand men have Volunteered, and those from Richland & Sumter are anxious to be brought down to insult us . . .

"Is not raising, embodying and marching men to oppose the laws of the United States an overt act of treason? Ought not such acts to authorise the interference of the Executive? I have no hope & see no means by which the revenue laws can be enforced by legal process &c."

Many other letters from Mr. Poinsett might be given, all showing an earnest desire on his part that a sufficiently large Federal force should be sent to South Carolina, ready to act the moment the Nullifiers should begin hostilities. The letters of General Jackson were written to reassure him and his friends that the whole force of the Government would be employed to sustain them.

Another of Colonel Drayton's correspondents was Judge Daniel E. Huger. He was a most conspicuous man in South Carolina, an earnest leader of the Union party there, and, like all the others, had many friends and relatives on the other side. He took a somewhat different view of the subject of Federal armed intervention from Mr. Poinsett.

In a letter dated December 17, 1832, Judge Huger, after explaining that the Union Convention at Columbia did not call upon the President for protection lest such an appeal should "Exasperate the Nullifiers," goes on to say,—

"I trust in God that the President will not use the means he confessedly has, but will leave to Congress the determination of the course to be pursued. Not that I would have our noble President flinch from responsibility, but Congress is regarded as the People of the United States. From their course there could be no appeal, and this would dampen very much the spirit of our opponents."

Again, in another letter of the same date, he says,—

"The great body of the Union party, at this moment, are unwilling to look to the Gov^t^ for protection, and I confess for one that I would prefer defending ourselves, and only in the last extremity accept of Federal assistance. I am aware how dangerous this course is. I do not like the idea of having our opponents put down by force. If the parties take the field, the Gov^t^ might be used as an auxiliary without offending the State pride of our people, but if the Gov^t^ be principal in the war, our people will join most reluctantly if they join at all. The Gov^t^, of course, must do its duty; the revenue laws, I suppose, must be enforced, but disabuse, if you can, the President of any wish on our part to have forces marched into this State with a view to our protection. We would rather suffer much than see our countrymen dragooned."

It was perhaps well for the peace of the country at that time, that these conflicting opinions of the leaders of the Union party in South Carolina, as to the nature and amount of coercion which it was expedient to use in order to secure

obedience to the laws, were reviewed by the cool and sagacious judgment of Colonel Drayton before they were submitted to the President. Between the urgent appeals of Mr. Poinsett for the immediate use of force enough to effect the object, and the strange kind of force advocated by Judge Huger, half principal and half auxiliary (a truly Southern definition of force, by the way), and the inflexible determination of the President to employ force of any kind, "principal or auxiliary," or both, to compass his ends, which were the execution of the laws and the punishment of rebels against their authority, Colonel Drayton must have been sorely perplexed how to satisfy all parties. But he proved himself a negotiator and diplomatist worthy of the occasion. He had some peculiar qualifications for such an office. He had proved himself during a long course of public service a man of such high honor and such unimpeached integrity that he was at that time not only respected but trusted by all parties. He was deeply impressed with the soundness of the political views held by the Union party, he knew well the lawlessness and madness of the Nullifiers, and he could not help seeing that if obedience to the laws of the United States was to be secured, force must be in the last resort employed. But with the far-seeing sagacity of a statesman, and with a certain tender regard for the misguided men of his own State, he thought that the *ultima ratio* should be postponed until every other method of compelling obedience had been exhausted.

With these views he turned his attention first to removing the great obstacle to peace,—the provisions of the Tariff Acts of 1828 and 1832. On the 9th of February, 1833, he proposed an amendment to the pending bill of Mr. Verplanck, reducing the rate of duties one-third after the 2d of March, 1834, and although his proposition was then rejected by the House, its introduction none the less marks the beginning of the compromise system which was afterwards adopted as a *modus vivendi* by both Houses. In a letter to Mr. Poinsett of that date, he thus explains the motives that led to his action:

"Should what I have proposed become a law the accumulation of the surplus revenue would be prevented, the rate of protection would be diminished, and an interval would be allowed for the manufacturers to save themselves from the losses which they would sustain by an instantaneous removal of the protective duties. For the sake of South Carolina as she is, I would not make the slightest effort to reduce the protective duties. On the contrary, I should be opposed to legislating altogether at this time unless by doing so a result might be accomplished which might deprive the Nullifiers of their means of doing mischief by conciliating those States whose co-operation they are desirous of obtaining, and without whose co-operation they must be sensible that their revolutionary plans would fail."

Meanwhile, Colonel Drayton had submitted to the President the views of Judge Huger. On the 31st of December he writes to Mr. Poinsett,—

"I have had several conversations with the President & proposed to him not to interfere with our party by affording them the aid of the Federal troops under *existing circumstances*, & he acquiesces in the policy of this forbearance, observing that he hopes to see the patriots of S. Carolina put down sedition & rebellion themselves. So soon as the laws passed by our late legislature in conformity with the directions of the Ordinance shall reach here a special message, I presume, will be sent by the Pres^t^ to Congress. Congress will then have this distracting subject before them, and unless I labor under the darkest error, the majority of Congress will not permit South Carolina *peaceably* to secede from the Union."

As time went on, and the Nullifiers grew more bold and defiant, Colonel Drayton was forced to regard armed intervention as a measure becoming more probable every day. But his loyalty to the Union never grew cool even when submitted to the crucial test of coercion should it be found necessary to adopt it.

"If our citizens," he says in a letter to Mr. Poinsett, January 13, "will not pay duties upon dutiable imports, and we resolve to exclude the Federal Courts from deciding controversies which are constitutionally within their jurisdic-

tion our ports will be blockaded. . . . In the event of our being drawn into a struggle with our foes and the foes of our country, and of our rights and liberties I hope & trust that we shall meet the emergency like men, prepared without boasting to defend ourselves with arms in our hands. The Nullifiers appear to be persuaded that they could raise the blockade of our ports and produce the retreat of the navy and military of the Federal Gov^t^ whenever they please simply by the formal declaration of Secession; but in this respect they labor under the same delusion which has characterised all their proceedings, for nothing is more evident to any observer at this place than that the Congress of the United States will not permit South Carolina to withdraw herself from the Union."

"The President contemplates sending a special message to Congress upon the subject of our affairs & declared that he would immediately execute his intention unless I should say to him that a delay would contribute to the safety of the members of the Union party. I told him that it would be a source of infinite regret to us if the proper course of the Gov^t^ should be arrested or paralysed by any consideration which was personal to ourselves, that we felt, I was confident, the same inclination which he did that the madness & folly and lawless usurpation of those who now tyrannised over us should be suppressed by the authority of the Union. I suggested to the President that it might be advisable to postpone the communication for a few days in order that some impression may be made on the tariff discussion, this he has promised to do."

The danger of an armed collision was averted, as is well known, by the unshaken firmness of the President, and the passage of the Compromise Bill of Mr. Clay by the combined vote of the Protectionists and the Nullifiers, with Mr. Calhoun at their head. The secret history of this bill may be read in Mr. Benton's "Thirty Years in the Senate," vol. i. p. 342. Suffice it to say here that the result was that the bill gave to the Protectionists all that they could reasonably claim in the changed condition of feeling throughout the country in regard to the Tariff question,—a rate of protection gradually decreasing during nine years,—while, of course, it was not satisfactory to the Legislature of South Carolina, which continued for some time to protest, threaten, and

nullify. But the people outside of the State, and the General Government paid little attention to all this talk, regarding it, as it proved to be, mere *brutum fulmen.*

I certainly have no design of writing a history of the Nullification troubles. I merely wish to present the views of some of the most eminent men in South Carolina at that time—of Poinsett, of Huger, and of Drayton—in regard to a question which has always been important, and which our later history has shown to be the most practical in its bearings of any which can agitate the country,—namely, the duty of the General Government to enforce the execution of its own laws under all circumstances and everywhere. If this is a principle which is now deeply rooted in the national life, and universally recognized as the basis of our national policy, we ought, it seems to me, to recall with pride and thankfulness the heroic struggles of those men who in the darkest days of trial and personal danger, and with a full consciousness that they were sacrificing fortune, and old friends, as well as social and political position, boldly proclaimed and maintained the truth upon which the Government under which we live has been built.[1]

When the strife and excitement attendant upon the "troublous times" of the Nullification era had closed Mr. Poinsett married, and became a rice planter near Georgetown. Here he exhibited the same enterprise, intelligence, and activity which he had displayed in his public life. He became a prosperous planter, and the hours which he could spare from the cultivation of his farm were given to reading, and especially to scientific studies, while he enjoyed the society of the cultivated people who thronged around him, eager to learn from his lips the lessons which had been taught him by a large experience of life in many countries and under many diverse conditions. Like many retired statesmen he became extremely fond of the comparative repose of rural

[1] Colonel Drayton resigned his seat in Congress in 1833, owing, as he expressed it, "to a deep-rooted and thorough disgust of public life." He removed shortly afterwards to Philadelphia, and the remainder of his useful and honorable life was passed in that city.

life. He believed in the possibility of cultivating successfully here many of the plants which he had seen growing in the various countries he had visited, and he amused himself with experiments to naturalize them here. Probably this period of his life was the happiest he had ever known. He had at last a home where he was surrounded not only by the comforts of life, but where his refined and elegant tastes had full play. Shut out, it is true, by his political opinions from public life in his own State, he nevertheless enjoyed what has always been "the classic diversion of a statesman's care,"—the cultivation of his fields and the never-failing resource of his books.

But although his own State neglected him, he was not forgotten by those who remembered and could reward his services to the nation. He was appointed Secretary of War in 1837 by Mr. Van Buren, and certainly no one was a better judge than he of the activity, temper, and tact which Mr. Poinsett would bring to the execution of the duties of his office. The new field of duty upon which he entered at Washington was, as we have seen, one entirely suited to his tastes and habits from his earliest boyhood. He at once introduced strict methods of accounting into the transaction of the business of the office, and he especially distinguished himself by improvements in what may be called the scientific work of the Government. It was he who was chosen (although the subject properly belonged to the Navy Department) by Mr. Van Buren's Cabinet to organize and equip the "Wilkes Exploring Expedition," and whatever credit the nation received for the results of that voyage, a good deal of it belongs to his provident care and liberality in fitting out the expedition. He planned and founded, moreover, the first National Museum and Institute in Washington, which was the worthy progenitor of the more famous Smithsonian Institution.

While in Europe in early life he had been much struck with certain improvements which had been introduced into the organization of the French armies under Napoleon. Among these things was the constitution and duties of the

état major, or general staff of the army, the improvements in artillery equipment and practice, and the vast importance of a *corps*, known in the English service as that of sappers miners. He labored hard to introduce all these improvements into our own small army. He was only partially successful. He completely reorganized, however, our artillery, and established batteries of what were called flying artillery. He sent Colonel Ringgold, who was afterwards killed while doing gallant service at Palo Alto in command of one of these batteries, to Europe to perfect himself in the details of the service. Much of our success in the battles of the Mexican War was owing, as is well known, to the superiority of our artillery, and its excellence was in a great measure due to the prudent care and foresight of Mr. Poinsett while Secretary of War.

When Mr. Van Buren's term as President expired, Mr. Poinsett returned to his plantation in South Carolina. He went back to his old work with renewed interest, and took no further part in political affairs. His health, as well as that of his wife, required attention, and they lived happy and contented together in private life. No one enjoyed more domestic happiness than he; and no one had more reason to wish for its long continuance. But the time of his departure was at hand, and he died peacefully on the 12th of December, 1851, being nearly seventy-three years old.

Mr. Poinsett had been much in the public eye for more than a half a century, and his career had been, as I have endeavored to show, a singularly useful and honorable one. During the whole of it he was remarkable for many qualities in which our prominent men are often singularly deficient. In the extent of his knowledge, in his devotion to duty as a principle in public affairs, in the firmness and decision of his character, in the great courage of his opinions, he had few if any rivals. As a speaker he was clear and forcible; his voice was not strong, but so distinct that he could be heard without difficulty. In the control of his

temper, in his self-possession in danger, in the courteous simplicity of his manners, he was a model. Above all, he was a typical American, willingly sacrificing everything to maintain his American principles, and as such, it seems to me that he is one of those Americans whose memory we should not willingly let die.

JUDGE JAMES MOORE AND MAJOR JAMES MOORE, OF CHESTER COUNTY, PENNSYLVANIA.

BY W. S. LONG, M.D.

My desire in presenting sketches of these gentlemen, father and son, is to preserve as far as possible from the oblivion which so rapidly envelops the men and events of the preceding century, the few remaining incidents in the lives of men who, occupying the highest social position, gave years of service to their country at the times of her greatest need. The pen of the historian has barely recorded their names, which the thoughtless may deem a reproach. In the dusty volumes of the "Colonial Records" and "Pennsylvania Archives" the persevering delver after dry facts will find that official mention has more fully presented their claims to the passing attention at least of posterity.

The first of the family of whom we have information was William Moore, who removed from Scotland to the north of Ireland, and was one of the defenders of Derry in 1689. He had a number of sons and daughters. Judge Moore, who was born in 1730, may have been a younger son, but I believe he was a grandson of this man. Tradition tells us that he had eight brothers. He was the first of the family to emigrate to America, and the only one of his generation. He was then about nineteen years of age. At different times eight nephews and one or more nieces were welcomed to his home, and from thence started out to make their fortunes, and from them are descended many who have occupied distinguished positions in public or private life. These are all descended from William Moore, of Derry, without any missing link in the chain of descent, or uncertainty, as in the case of their uncle. One nephew, Samuel Moore, of

Lancaster County, was a captain in the Pennsylvania Line, and was grandfather of General John Fulton Reynolds, the hero of Gettysburg, and of Rear-Admiral William Reynolds. Another nephew, Robert Moore, was engaged in one of the Irish rebellions, and only succeeded in escaping to the United States after hair-breadth escapes from the English soldiers. At one time he was hidden for several days in an oven. Two fine silver-mounted holster pistols, which were carried by him, are preserved in one branch of our family.

James Moore, Sr., settled in Chester County, and in time became possessed of several large farms bordering on Springton and Brandywine Manors. In 1752 he married Elizabeth, daughter of Judge James and Rachel (Creswell) Whitehill, of Pequea, Lancaster County. She came of a good Scotch-Irish family, one that furnished many men of mark in the early annals of our country. Two of her brothers were members of the Constitutional Convention of 1787, and three were members of Congress between 1803 and 1814. The family was represented in the Committee of Safety, Council of Censors, General Assembly, or Congress, almost continuously from 1776 to 1814.

Mrs. Moore was a lady of great refinement and sensibility. She was active in assisting the poor and wounded soldiers of our suffering army. She was possessed of great personal bravery, such as is frequently seen in persons of her character in times of danger, but which may remain unsuspected in peaceful days. She was considered a very proud woman. When severe trials came upon her she remained silent, and no tradition remains of any complaint to any human being. After her husband's death she had total loss of sight, and was greatly comforted in being able to repeat many passages from the Bible and hymns. Of the latter her favorite was, "Consider all my sorrows, Lord, and thy deliverance send." She died June 25, 1815, aged eighty-two years.

James Moore, Sr., at a meeting of the Executive Council at Philadelphia, May 23, 1770, was appointed justice of the General Quarter Sessions of the Peace, and of the Court of

Common Pleas for Chester County. On December 20, 1774, in company with Anthony Wayne, Thomas Hockley, and about thirty others, he was chosen a member of the Committee of Safety of Chester County. This body held meetings at irregular times at various places in the county, increasing their frequency as the danger became greater, until, in 1776, "they met almost daily in Philadelphia. Their duties were arduous in the extreme. It is indeed difficult to comprehend how a body of men could control and direct such an amount of business, in all its details, as was brought under their notice." ("Hist. Chest. Co.," by Futhey, p. 63.) At a meeting at Richard Cheyney's in East Caln, Messrs. Hockley, Johnston, Gronow, Lloyd, Frazier, Moore, and Taylor were "appointed a committee to essay a draft of a petition to present the General Assembly of this Province, with regard to the manumission of slaves,—especially relating to the freedom of infants hereafter born of black women within this colony." Funds were collected at this meeting for the use of Boston. At a meeting held September 25, 1775, "at the sign of the Turk's Head," the following paper was published. It has been well said that it has a strange sound at this day, yet, without doubt, it was the prevailing sentiment at the time:

"Whereas some persons, evidently inimical to the liberty of America, have industriously propagated a report that the military associations of this County, in conjunction with the military associations in general, intend to overturn the constitution by declaring an Independency, in the execution of which they are aided by this committee and the Board of Commissioners and Assessors with the arms now making for this County; and as such report could not originate but among the worst of men for the worst of purposes,—this Committee have therefore thought proper to declare their abhorrence even of an idea so pernicious in its nature; as they ardently wish for nothing more than a happy and speedy reconciliation on constitutional principles, with that state from whom they derive their origin.

"By order of the Committee.

"ANTHONY WAYNE, *chairman.*"

On December 26, 1775, "Anthony Wayne, James Moore, Francis Johnston, Dr. Samuel Kennedy, Caleb Davis, William Montgomery, Persifor Frazier and Richard Thomas, Gentlemen," were appointed to represent the county in the Provincial Convention for the ensuing year. One of the many good things done by this committee was the securing the appointment of Anthony Wayne to his first military office.

Mr. Moore was made a justice of the peace, March 31, 1777. Resigned November 17, 1781, to take his seat as representative from Chester County to the General Assembly, to which office he was re-elected in 1784, '85, '86, '87, and '88. Reappointed justice of the peace, November 6, 1782. On December 13, 1783, he was elected a member of the Council of Censors. This body was to meet every seven years, to see if the new Constitution had been preserved inviolate and justice administered. General Anthony Wayne was his colleague from Chester County. They met in the summer of 1784. On October 31, 1785, he was elected a judge of Court of Common Pleas, but on the same date he appeared before Benjamin Franklin, president of Supreme Executive Council, and resigned this office, to take his place in the General Assembly. In 1790, Judge Moore, John Worth, and Joseph Gibbons, as County Commissioners, bought land and superintended the erection of the Public Office building at West Chester. On August 17, 1791, he was appointed an associate judge of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania. His associate judges in the Second Division, consisting of Chester, Lancaster, York, and Dauphin, were Judges Shippen and Finney, with William Atlee as president. Judge Moore was a warm patriot during the Revolution, and was active in enlisting men for the Flying Camp and the Pennsylvania Line. He had charge of public funds and payment of bounties to the soldiers, and stores for the army. For a long time he was obliged to take the money and sleep in a secret place away from his house, in order to secure it from the Tories and outlaws, who made several attempts to gain possession of it. They visited his

house in his absence, but his wife met them bravely and was never molested. She never knew where his hiding-place was, desiring that it should be kept secret from her, so that no consideration for her own safety would ever impel her to reveal it. After his death she regretted that she had not asked him to take her to it, when all reasons for secrecy had passed away. Judge and Mrs. Moore lived in a fine, large stone mansion, on the crest of a hill overlooking the Brandywine, near the present village and station of Glen Moore. Two rows of trees bordered the broad avenue from the house to the road. A few pieces of furniture, of silver plate, and fine Irish linen, which he had brought from Ireland, afford us but a glimpse at the solidity and elegance which several aged persons I have met have affirmed characterized their well-ordered home; for about 1800 it was destroyed by fire, and very little was saved. A carpet covered the drawing-room floor, and was a great curiosity, people coming from long distances to see it, some prophesying the loss of their broad acres for indulging in such vanity. It was only used in winter, being considered too warm for summer. Hospitality was practised such as only the olden time—or, perhaps, the South of antebellum days—could illustrate. The household work was done by slaves.

Judge Moore has been pictured to us as a tall man, though not fleshy, and of a dignified presence,—his powdered hair in queue, a coat with a high-rolled collar and gold buttons, knee-breeches, silk hose, with silver buckles on his shoes. Shirts made entirely of linen were alone worn, and the ruffles were models of neatness and artistic skill. His dress was such as he thought befitted a gentleman of high social position. Republican simplicity, as exemplified by Jefferson in wrapper and slippers receiving the foreign ministers, would have found little favor in his sight. In religion he was a Presbyterian, a member of the church of the Forks of Brandywine. It was one of the curious customs of that time, which made it possible for a liquor-dealer to become an elder in the church, while a lawyer was ineligible to any office higher than trustee. While Mr. Moore was one

of the most liberal givers in the congregation, and an active worker in whatever he set his hands to do, he never advanced beyond the bounds set to the men of his profession. Being a judge in Pennsylvania's Supreme Court in no respect altered the case in the view of those old Scotch-Irishmen. He was elected trustee in 1761. This congregation is the one of which history tells us, that at a dark time in the nation's struggle for liberty there was not an able-bodied man remaining in its bounds,—all were in the service of their country,—while the old men, women, and boys harvested the crops. Judge Moore had four children, —James, who became a major in the Pennsylvania Line; William, John, and David. His death, which occurred March 31, 1802, was very sudden and unexpected, and was ascribed to apoplexy, but the rapid result would make it probable that it was due to cardiac disease. He was overseeing the building of a fence when he fell, and death took place instantly. He and his wife are buried in one grave in Brandywine Manor churchyard.

(To be continued.)

A NARRATIVE OF THE TRANSACTIONS, IMPRISONMENT, AND SUFFERINGS OF JOHN CONNOLLY, AN AMERICAN LOYALIST AND LIEUT. COL. IN HIS MAJESTY'S SERVICE.

There cannot, perhaps, be a more severe task imposed upon a person, who has any pretensions to that sense of propriety which distinguishes a delicate mind, than to be obliged to relate a long story, of which he is himself the subject. It has, however, always been held excusable if the incidents were extraordinary, and it were necessary to the future peace and prosperity of the narrator they should be known, provided the tale were told with modesty and truth. I hope this gentle indulgence will be kindly extended to me, and that the unavoidable egotism that must pervade this narrative, will be benevolently overlooked in mercy to the misfortunes of one who is at least conscious of having acted with good intentions, and from principles which he believed were descriptive of a loyal subject, an honest man, and a man of honour.

I was born in America of respectable parents, and received as perfect an education as that country could afford. In the early part of life I was bred to physic, the practice of which it was intended I should pursue; my natural bent of mind, however, determined otherwise. It was my ambition to be a soldier; and this passion was so prevalent that, contrary to the wishes of my friends, I went a volunteer, while yet a youth, to Martinico, where I endeavoured to distinguish myself, as far as inexperience and an unimportant station would admit. After the peace of 1762, the North American Indians entered into a general confederacy to destroy our frontier settlements and demolish the garrisons. The British commander in chief was obliged to send an army to repel these invaders; in which, once more a

volunteer, I served two campaigns, at my own private expense; and, as became me, cheerfully and ambitiously encountered the dangers and fatigues of war. Here I had an opportunity of observing the great difference between the *petite guerre* of the Indians, and the military system of the Europeans, and how essentially necessary it was for a good soldier in this service to be master of them both. Animated by a strong desire to make myself worthy to serve my King and country on future occasions, after peace was established with the Indians, I explored our newly acquired territory, visited the various tribes of native Americans, studied their different manners and customs, undertook the most toilsome marches with them through the extensive wilds of Canada, and depended upon the precarious chace for my subsistence for months successively. A perseverance in these preliminary duties of a good soldier taught me to endure hardships, and gave me agility of body, and an aptitude to enterprize, very proper to form a partizan officer.

Delighted with the soil and climate, I afterwards fixed my residence beyond the Apalachian mountains in West Augusta county, and as numbers were daily emigrating thither from the middle Colonies, I was active in encouraging the new settlers; these soon acquired property, the spirit of industry increased, cultivation and improvements were extended, and establishments, scarcely credible, arose from the midst of a wilderness, and spread for more than one hundred miles down the river Ohio. To be at the head of a new settlement was not the only object I had in view. During the preceding war, France had sent her soldiers from Canada, and by seizing this country, and erecting Fort Du Quesne (now Fort Pitt) had given great disturbance to Virginia, and the Middle Colonies in general. This new settlement precluded the possibility of renewing the like ravages from Louisiana, now the only avenue through which we were vulnerable, in case of future hostilities with the House of Bourbon. I had been taught from my earliest infancy to revere my King and country, and provide against

their enemies: I had here an opportunity of performing my duty, and I was happy.

In the infancy of the settlement, the magistrates of Pennsylvania usurped a power of jurisdiction that was not only illegal but extremely prejudicial to the inhabitants; to preserve which, they proceeded to many very unjustifiable acts of violence, and went even so far as to threaten an appeal to the sword. I was the person, who having the most power, had the greatest share in procuring a redress of these grievances. I was sensible the Charter limits of the Province of Pennsylvania could not justify the exercise of jurisdiction beyond the Western bounds of that government; and therefore applied to the Governor and Council of Virginia, and obtained the necessary authority to prohibit such usurpation, until his Majesty's royal pleasure was known. These things are mentioned, not to display my own merits or consequences, but because they are necessary to the narrative; for though it was my endeavour, throughout this transaction, to conduct myself with a dispassionate and candid regard to justice only, yet, as it was prejudicial to the pecuniary interests of some individuals in Pennsylvania, they became my enemies, among whom, was a Gentleman since advanced to high military rank in the American service.

In the year 1774, disputes arose between the Indians and some inconsiderate people, who, it appeared from every circumstance, had treated the former in a very harsh and improper manner; reciprocal injuries took place, and the industrious and meritorious husbandman, with his innocent family, suffered for the injustice committed by his unprincipled countrymen. I was, at that time, invested with the command of the militia; it was, therefore, my peculiar duty to avert, if possible, a war that threatened the destruction of a flourishing Colony, and every endeavour at pacification was employed by me, but unhappily without effect. Depredations continued, and the defenceless inhabitants fled from the vengeance of their enraged enemies. However, in obedience to the orders of his excellency Lord Dunmore, I raised

a body of men sufficient to cover the frontier, and by a chain of small forts repelled the violence of their incursions. Hostilities did not end here; other Indian nations joined the confederacy, and the war became more important. Two small armies were marched into the enemies' country, as the sole means of effecting a speedy and permanent reconciliation. Lord Dunmore, in person, commanded, and a battle, the most important that ever happened on a similar occasion, in North America, was fought, in which the Indians were totally routed, pursued to their towns, and reduced to the necessity of giving hostages for the accomplishment of a treaty of peace entered into by them, and which was to have been finally ratified the ensuing Spring at Pittsburgh. I cannot speak in terms sufficiently expressive of the admiration with which the whole army beheld Lord Dunmore, during this expedition. His conduct was exemplary to the officer and the soldier: he chearfully encountered every hardship, waded through every creek, and marched with his men upwards of Four hundred miles on foot. He preserved the dignity, by fulfilling the duties of his station.

In the course of the contest, the principal warriors and chiefs were made prisoners, and committed to my charge at Fort Pitt, where, after the expedition, I had the honour to command some Colony troops as Major Commandant. I have before spoken of the efforts I had used to qualify myself for the profession of arms; and I had now the satisfaction to meet every honourable testimony of applause for my behaviour in the Indian war, both from his excellency Lord Dunmore and my fellow-subjects.

Although Congress had assembled themselves in September 1774, yet as that was about the time I was going into the Indian country, my mind was so intent upon the war, I paid but little regard to political heats which every loyalist imagined would soon subside; but on my return, the intimations of my friends, and the proceedings of the disaffected, gave me the first unhappy presages of the ensuing commotions. These were greatly heightened by the follow-

ing letter, which I received from General Washington, in answer to one I had written to him on Indian affairs.

MOUNT-VERNON, Feb. 25, 1775.

DEAR SIR,

Your servant, on his return from Williamsburg, affords me occasion to answer your polite letter. I confess the state of affairs is sufficiently alarming; which our critical situaation, with regard to the Indians does not diminish: but as you have wrote to Lord Dunmore, relative to the prisoners under your charge, there can be no doubt of his Lordship's having now transmitted you the necessary directions on that subject. I have only to express my most ardent wishes that every measure, consistent with reason and sound policy, may be adopted to keep those people, at this time, in good humour; for another rupture would not only ruin the external, but internal parts of this government. If the journal of your proceedings in the Indian war is to be published, I shall have an opportunity of seeing what I have long coveted. With us here, things wear a disagreeable aspect; and the minds of men are exceedingly disturbed at the measures of the British government. The King's Speech and Address of both Houses, prognosticate nothing favourable to us; but by some subsequent proceedings thereto, *as well as by private letters from London*, there is reason to believe, the Ministry would willingly change their ground, from a conviction the forcible measures will be inadequate to the end designed. A little time must now unfold the mystery, as matters are drawing to a point.

I am, dear sir,
your friend, and most obedient
humble servant,
G. WASHINGTON.

MAJOR CONNOLLY,
Fort Pitt.

This letter spoke in plain terms the spirit of its dictator, and the intelligence I received from all quarters confirmed my apprehensions. And here I have the consolation to

reflect, that my loyalty to my Prince, and respect for the established form of government, were too confirmed to admit of the least doubt which party I should espouse; I decided instantly, and resolved to exert every faculty in defence of the royal cause; from which resolution not one idea has ever swerved, although my succeeding misfortunes left me only the inclination, while it deprived me of the power to execute. At this time, indeed, I had better prospects; for notwithstanding that those illegal assemblies, called county committees, had generally pervaded the thirteen Provinces, I had influence enough, not only to prevent any such assembly in West Augusta county, where I presided, but likewise to engage a formidable body of friends, at the risk of life and fortune, in support of the constitutional authority.

The battle of Bunker's Hill had now been fought, and the flames of rebellion began openly to blaze. I had written to Lord Dunmore for instructions respecting my conduct, who, I found, would be obliged to quit his government; and received for answer, that he advised me to disband the troops, at the time limited by act of assembly, that they might have no cause of complaint on that head; that I should convene the Indians to a general treaty, restore the prisoners, and endeavour to incline them to espouse the royal cause. This last proved a most hazardous enterprize, though not therefore relinquished; for the assembly of Virginia, having resolved themselves into an unwarrantable convention, finding I had invited the contiguous Indian tribes to a general congress at Fort Pitt, deputed a committee of their own body to inspect my conduct. These people were ordered to impress upon the minds of the Indians, the justice of the hostile proceedings against this country, and the necessity of arming as a preliminary to the intended requisition of their auxiliary aid in future. This was the direct contrary to what it was my duty, if possible, to effect; and, narrowly as I was watched, I had the happiness to succeed in this dangerous and critical undertaking.

This was owing to my superior knowledge of Indian

manners and tempers, and the measures I had previously taken. I had most assiduously cultivated the friendship, and insinuated myself into the favour of my prisoners; had convinced them of the advantages that might accrue to their nations, by adhering to the British government; and procured their promises to negotiate the business with their brethren, which they punctually performed. Thus I secretly frustrated the machinations of the Republicans, while I received their thanks, and procured assurances from the Indian chiefs to support his Majesty, at all events, as his Majesty's most faithful friends and auxilliaries; as a proof of which, I was authorized to transmit a large belt of wampum to Lord Dunmore, from him to be sent to his Majesty, as a symbol of their inviolable attachment to his royal person. This public transaction employed a fortnight, at the end of which I dismissed the Indians perfectly satisfied and informed; having first added an additional and considerable present out of my private fortune, to what had been publicly voted for that purpose.

The troops lately under my command were now disbanded, the demagogues of faction were active, the spirit of sedition was every where prevalent, and distrust of each other pervaded hearts the most loyal. But as nothing great or good could be effected in times like these without risk, I considered only what plan was best at such conjuncture; and having determined, resolved to act with vigor, as a temporizing neutrality was neither consistent with my principles nor my passions. My design briefly was, first to engage as many gentlemen of consequence as possible to join with me in defence of government, and afterwards to make my way through the country, visit Lord Dunmore, who was now driven, for personal safety, on board a ship lying at Norfolk, consult with him, and take his instructions concerning the most effectual mode I and my adherents could pursue to serve his Majesty. I began by inviting such of my friends as I could best depend on to an entertainment, where, as public disturbances were now the universal topic, little address was necessary

to introduce such discourse. Encouraged by an unanimity of opinion, each man delivered his sentiments freely; and as I found them universally enraged against the arbitrary proceedings of the Republican party, I ventured to predict, that nothing less than independency, and a total revolution, were intended by the leaders of faction, whatever might be their pretentions. My friends were men warmed with a high veneration for his Majesty, and the constitution; and as the conversation operated as I could wish, I found means to take some of the most confidential aside, and inform them of my plan, of my resolution to execute it at the hazard of life and fortune, and of my expectation of their hearty concurrence and aid. The gentlemen present were most of them either officers in the militia, or magistrates of the county, consequently were those whose influence and wealth could most effectually serve the cause. A solemn compact was immediately entered into, stating, that if an accommodation did not take place, and I could procure the necessary authority to raise men, they would, at the risk of life and property, most willingly engage to restore the constitutional authority, as far as any co-operative measure from that county could contribute to so salutary a design, after which the strictest secrecy was enjoined, and the company separated.

The circumspection and art necessary to escape to Lord Dunmore, occasioned some preparatory delay; and the following incident, which will give a lively picture of the anarchy of the times, made this delay still greater. Two nights before my intended departure, my servant entered my room after midnight, to inform me that an express was just arrived, with dispatches from Lord Dunmore, and desired admittance. I ordered him to be brought in, and immediately a man followed my servant in a travelling dress, with a packet in his hand. I drew my curtain, received it, and was breaking open the seal, when the villain seized me by the throat, presented a pistol at my breast, told me I was his prisoner, and, if I offered the least resistance, a dead man. I had been so long learning to despise danger, and acquire fortitude, that I was not easily to be intimidated.

I rightly suspected he had accomplices, so leaping up, I drove the fellow back, seized him, and while struggling gave the door a kick, and shut it by the spring-lock. I called to my servant for my sword or pistols; but to his stupefaction, it is probable, I owe my present existence; for though I should have killed my antagonist in self-defence, I should have fallen the immediate martyr of revenge. My door was quickly burst open by his armed coadjutors, about twenty in number; and the contest becoming unequal, I was compelled to submit myself their prisoner. I was scarcely allowed time to dress, my servants were secured; I was mounted on a horse brought for the purpose, hurried away, and obliged to ride all night at the risk of my neck, till about ten o'clock in the morning, when I found myself at Ligonier, fifty-four miles from Pittsburgh.

I soon learnt I was in the power of my inveterate enemy, the commander of the militia, and principal man of the place; who had taken this opportunity of wreaking his malice, under pretence of seizing a dangerous person and a Tory, an appellation lately revived, and given by the republicans to the loyalists; and which the common people were taught to hold in such abhorrence, that Tory was, in their imaginations, synonimous to every thing vile and wicked. My only hope, and that a very distant one, was, a rescue by my friends; and as I was informed, that I was suspected of an intention to raise a body of men to act against the liberties of America, to answer which accusation I must immediately be sent to Congress, I found I could only escape, by gaining time, and protracting a journey so destructive to all my future designs. The agitation of mind unavoidable in such times, and under such circumstances, with the fatigue of such a jaunt, had brought on a slight indisposition, which I purposely magnified, and prevailed on the gentleman in whose custody I was, to suffer me to go to bed; where by continuing the same pretence, I remained all day, and when night came was indulged with a farther respite till the next morning. My wish was, that my friends, who had the cause of royalty as well as friendship at heart, would gain the

passes of the Lawrel-hill [Laurel-Hills] or Allegheny mountains, and there effect my rescue.

In the morning, when we had breakfasted, the guard had mounted, and I reluctantly on the point of setting out for Philadelphia, a man on horseback arrived at Ligonier from the mountains, who had apparently rode very hard. He was stopped by the Captain of the guard, and I soon perceived, by their whispers and change of countenance, he brought intelligence they did not like; and almost at the same instant, another person was seen coming, with the greatest expedition, in the contrary direction from Pittsburgh, whom I soon knew to be one of my neighbours, though not perfectly satisfied at that time of his loyalty. To me these were favourable omens, and my conjectures were quickly confirmed, by the arrival of the Gentleman who planned and directed this expedition, and who now saluted me very civilly, entered into conversation, spoke of the disagreeable prospect of civil war, and the unjustifiable attempts of the British legislature; which supposition I repelled, as far as the delicacy of my situation would permit.

Happening to pass through the kitchen of the public house where we were, one of the maids followed me out, and informed me, that a considerable body of my friends were waiting at the Lawrel-hill, who had vowed to put every man to the sword whom they should find guarding me, and afterwards to burn down the house of the principal, in revenge for such a lawless outrage. This intelligence perfectly explained appearances, and gave me boldness, so that when I re-entered, I presently came to an eclaircissement with my enemy. I observed to him, that his conduct seemed to precipitate the horrors of civil dissention, and that his having recourse to an armed force to remove me out of my own country, in so hostile and suspicious a manner, could not fail to awaken the resentment of my friends, who, undoubtedly, on such a pressing occasion, would have recourse to force also, and repel violence by violence: I added, that it was mutually our duty to suppress, not encourage such proceedings, for they were indubitably big with the most dreadful

calamities. The conclusion was, I was permitted to return home, and very gladly took my leave. I had not yet, however, passed the boundaries of danger.—

I had not proceeded far on my return, before I met one of my servants with a led horse, and a portmanteau of cloaths for my use, in case I had been taken to Philadelphia. He informed me of several persons he had seen assembled at Hannah's Town, whose political characters were the reverse of mine, and that he suspected they intended me some injury; and accordingly we presently saw three persons approach, whom I knew to be Magistrates of Pennsylvania, and whom I had some time before been under the necessity of arresting and holding to bail, because they would persist to execute their magisterial functions beyond the limits of their own province and county, (as related in the beginning of this narrative), very much to the prejudice of his Majesty's subjects in the colony of Virginia. These Gentlemen, who were accompanied by the Sheriff, after a hasty salute, arrested me on a writ of twenty thousand pounds damages, for having confined their persons. They proposed returning to Ligonier with me; to this I objected, alledging, that the action was of so strange a nature, I would not give bail, but insisted on being taken to the county gaol, which was near my own home and friends.

My partizans having heard of my release at Ligonier, and not suspecting any farther attempts, were satisfied and dispersed, and remained quiet two or three days; but when they heard I was again detained at Hannah's Town, under a fresh pretext, they were greatly enraged, and were only prevented from proceeding to extremities, by the prudence of a few individuals. A letter was, however, immediately sent from the senior Magistrate of the county, over which I had the honor to preside, to the committee of Westmoreland county, written in a firm but proper tone, demanding my release. This had instantly the desired effect, and I was at length allowed to return to Pittsburg, where I was met by a great number of my adherents, armed, and impatiently waiting the issue. My gratitude and feelings at

the firmness of their attachment were powerful, and after returning them my thanks in the most expressive manner I could, they again dispersed.

I have not related these incidents, because they are not only descriptive of the factious spirit that prevailed, and how plausibly private pique could assume the appearance of public spirit, but tend likewise to show, that formidable as the republican party was, the loyalists were not less so; and that had it not been for the after impediment, of a long and rigorous imprisonment, I should undoubtedly have had the power, by collecting, encouraging, and heading my friends, to have served my king and country most essentially.

Once more at liberty, I had now to pursue my plan of visiting Lord Dunmore; but the distance I had to travel, and the lawless and suspicious temper of the times, made this no easy matter. The treaty which I had concluded with the Indians, gave me ostensible business to the Committee at Winchester; and the better to hide my intentions, I prevailed with three of the Indian Chiefs to accompany me thither, carrying with me a copy of the treaty, calculated for the inspection of the President and Convention assembled at Richmond. I travelled about one hundred and eighty miles from Fort Pitt, till I came to the warm springs in Frederick county, without any remarkable occurrence. Here I met a great concourse of Gentlemen from the different governments, who delivered sentiments very opposite to mine; but though I had the caution not to contradict, notwithstanding that I heard the grossest falsehoods industriously propagated, yet my silence was construed into dissension, and I was given to understand, I was a suspected person, and that it had been proposed to form a committee to enquire into my conduct and intentions. Though his arbitrary examination was dropped, I learnt, that several Gentlemen had written to the Committee at Winchester, describing me as a suspicious and dangerous character. I determined, however, to proceed; and concluded, that if I could escape, with plausibility, this one more difficulty,

I might obtain some certificate of the satisfaction my conduct had given this newly erected tribunal, which might serve as a passport through the remainder of my journey.

The day after I arrived, the expected scrutiny took place, and I found not only the letters written from the suspicious valetudinarians of the warm springs, but one come express from the clerk of the county where I myself presided, replete with assurances to the committee, of my dangerous and Tory principles; and expressive of a conviction, that I intended to join Lord Dunmore, and meditated every opposition to the laudable purposes then adopted for the suppression of tyranny. To men enflamed with enthusiastic ideas of infringed rights, this was a charge most criminal: I endeavoured to avert and soften it, by declaring, first, in general terms, that though my reverence for the King and Constitution might, at some moments, possibly have betrayed me into expressions reflecting on certain proceedings, which I could not help dreading, might plunge our unhappy country into all the horrors of a civil war, yet I had ever exerted myself to the utmost extent of my abilities for the public good, in all affairs which I had been deemed worthy to transact: that I flattered myself, the treaty and proceedings with the Indians, now open for their inspection, would vouch for my assertions: that with respect to letters and suspicions, they were no proofs; and that the letter most positive in accusation, came from a person not instigated by a love of justice and his country, but by motives far less praiseworthy, of which I gave them satisfactory and notorious proofs.

And now an incident happened, that turned the scale entirely in my favour, for just as the Clerk of the Committee had finished reading the Indian treaty, an express arrived with dispatches from the President of the Convention, held at Richmond, containing not only entire approbation of my conduct, in the beforementioned Indian treaty, of which the Commissioners, sent to inspect and assist, had given an account, but likewise a polite and complimentary letter from the President to me, expressing a desire to see me along

with the Indian Chiefs. This produced everything I could wish. The Clerk was ordered to give me a copy of a resolve, signifying their entire satisfaction, at my good and able conduct, and their belief, of my having acted heretofore, in a manner conducive to the liberties of America.

It was not my purpose, however, to visit the convention, but Lord Dunmore: the next day, therefore, I informed the Indians, I must now part with them, as my business required I should take a different route; advised them to meet the Convention at Richmond; brought to their recollection, the duty I had so often inculcated, and took my leave; but not without regret at parting with men, who, though unpolished and barbarous, had great integrity of heart, and an inviolable friendship.

So full was the country become of Committees, new raised militia, petty officers, and other persons officially busy, in hopes of being distinguished, that the utmost circumspection was continually necessary. When I came to Fredericksburg, I dined with an old friend, in better days Doctor, afterwards General Mercer, and killed at Prince Town, in an action with the seventeenth regiment, and because I was silent, when inflammatory and unconstitutional toasts and sentiments were drank, the next day, when I again set off on my journey, I found they had placed a spy upon me, under the appearance of an accidental traveller on the road to Richmond.

Him, however, I had the address to shake off. When I came near Williamsburg, I contrived so as to pass through the town in the night. I saw several officers and soldiers, and was hailed by the centinels, but answering, "a friend," they supposed me a country Gentleman, and suffered me to pass. Though the rains had been, and were exceedingly heavy, attended with violent thunder and lightning, I did not stop till I came to York-Town, which was towards midnight, and there, thoroughly drenched, and excessively fatigued, I went to bed. Being near the end of my journey, on the morning I set forward, through still unremitting rain, which, though very disagreeable, was a very convenient cir-

cumstance, for the militia and inhabitants were obliged to keep in their houses, and I passed through Hampton safe and unobserved. I here procured a boat, and by a little finesse with the waterman, got on board the ship where Lord Dunmore usually remained. His Lordship was gone on shore to Gosport, whither I instantly followed, and immediately obtained the ardently wished-for-pleasure of an interview.

Those only who have seen such times, and been in similar situations; who have felt the like passionate desire to distinguish themselves in the service of their King and country, and the like apprehensions of being prevented, those only can conceive the satisfaction I experienced at this moment. I had been twice a prisoner, twice rescued; had passed the Apalachian Mountains, and come upwards of four hundred and fifty miles, through a country where every eye seemed intuitively suspicious; had formed a party in favour of the cause I had espoused; and my heart swelled with the hopes of doing something eminently conspicuous: I had happily joined a Nobleman, whose loyal sentiments corresponded with my own, and who made it an invariable rule never to suffer those who preferred their allegiance to the vain applause of a giddy multitude, to pass undistinguished. Thus far success attended my efforts, and I was happy: the reverse of the medal must presently appear.

(To be continued.)

ESSAY OF AN ONONDAGA GRAMMAR, OR A SHORT INTRODUCTION TO LEARN THE ONONDAGA *AL.* MAQUA TONGUE.

By Rev. David Zeisberger.

CONTRIBUTED BY JOHN W. JORDAN.

(Concluded from page 239.)

4th Conjugation

Agotaeri, *to pity, forgive.*

Præs. sing.	wagitaeri	*I forgive*	*Perf. sing.*	wagitaérichne
	waschitaeri	*you* "		waschitaé
	wahotaeri	*she forgives*		wahotaérichne
plur.	unquaetaeri	*we forgive*		jogotaé
	s'wantaeri	*ye* "	*plur.*	unquantaé
	wahuntaeri	*they* "		s'wantaér
	guntaeri (fem.)	*they* "		wahuntaér
				guntaerichne
Fut. sing.	'ngitaeri			
	'nschitaeri			
	'nhotaeri			
	'ngotaeri			
plur.	'nt'waentaeri			
	'ns'waentaeri			
	'nhuntaeri			
	'nguntaeri			

Infinit. Præs. untatterio, *to fight.*

Perf. untatteriochne, *to have fought.*

Fut. 'njuntatterió

Præs. sing.	gatatterio	*Fut. sing.*	'ngatatterio
	satatterio		'nsatterio
	hatatterio		'nhatatterio, &c.
	gotatterio		
plur.	unqua or t'waetterio		*Imperative.*
	s'watatterio	*Præs. sing.*	scheaterió
	huntatterio	*plur.*	aswaterio
	guntatterio		
		Fut. sing.	n'ashiaterio

Perf. sing.	gatatteriochne		n'ahatatterio
	satatteriochne		n'agotatterio
	hatatteriochne	*plur.*	n'asivaterio
	gotatteriochne, &c.		n'ahuntatterio
			n'aguntaterrio.

Thus go the reciprocal Verbs: *untattaēsta*, *untatterio*.

Waqua, *to take away.*

	Active.		*Passive.*
Præs. sing.	wagéchqua	*sing.*	tiungéchqua
	wass or tesséchqua		ietséchqua
	waháqua or waháchqua		t'huwaqua or thuwáchqua
	tiagochqua.		t'guwáqua.
plur.	unquaqua or t'waqua	*plur.*	tumquáqua
	tess'wachqua		jets'waqua
	hotishqua		t'huwatichqua
	guntishqua (fem.)		t'guwatichqua

The Perfect is as the present tense.

Future.

sing.	'n'gechqua	*sing.*	'njunkechqua
	'ntochqua		'njetsechqua
	'ns'háqua		'nhuwáqua
	'njagochqua		'nguwáqua
plur.	'nt'wáqua	*plur.*	'ntiunquaqua
	'ns'waqua		'njets'waqua
	'nhotichqua		'nt'huwatichqua
	'nguntichqua		'nt'guwatichqua

Imperfect.

sing.	tessechqua	*sing.*	ajetsèchqua
plur.	tess'waqua	*plur.*	ajetswáqua.

Future.

sing.	n'atesséchqua	*sing.*	n'ajetsechqua
	n'ahaqua		n'ahuwáqua
	n'ajagochqua		n'aguwáqua
plur.	n'aswáqua	*plur.*	n'ajets'waqua
	n'ahotichqua		n'ahuwatichqua
	n'aguntichqua		n'aguwatichqua

Irregular Verbs—verba anomala.

Inf. Præs. Waăk, *to eat.* *Perf.* waëxqua, *to have eaten.* *Fut.* 'njek, *to eat hereafter.*

	Præs.		*Future.*
sing.	wágek	*sing.*	'n'gek

	j'chsek		'ntsek
	j'chrek		'ntrek
	jwix		'njek
plur.	jaquak	*plur.*	'ntschiaquak
	jsswak		'n's'wak
	húnik		'nhúnik
	gunik (fem.)		'ngúnik

Perfect.		*Imperfect.*	
sing.	wagéxqua	*sing.*	sec. or jchsec
	jchsèxqua	*plur.*	s'wal or jsswac
	jchrexqua		*Future.*
	jwixqua	*sing.*	'n'tsck
plur.	jaquaxqua		'n'trek
	jss'waxqua		'njek
	junixqua	*plur.*	'ns'wak
	gunixqua (fem.)		'nhúnik
			'ngunik (fem.)

Inf. Præs. Tajecht, *to come from thence.* *Perf.* tajechta, *to be come from thence.* *Fut.* 'ntajecht, *to come from thence.*

Præs.		*Future.*	
sing.	Tajecht,	*sing.*	'ntágecht
	tachsecht,		'ntáchsecht
	tahect,		'ntáhecht
	tajecht,		'ntajecht
plur.	jttewecht,	*plur.*	'n'twecht
	jssewecht,		'n'swecht
	tahunnecht,		'ntahúnnecht
	tagunnecht,		'ntagunnecht

Perfect.		
sing.	tagechta, &c.	*Imperative is like the Præs.*
plur.	jttewechta, &c.	Tentagecht, *to return.*

Infin. Wauntenc, *to go with.*

Præs.		*Future.*	
sing.	jttene	*sing.*	'ntene,
	jssene		'ntsene,
	hótene		'nhotene or 'njackene,
plur.	jttewe	*plur.*	'ntewe,
	jssewe		'ntsewe,
	hotettene		'nhotettene,

Perfect.		*Imperfect.*	
sing.	jttenlsqua	*Præs. sing.*	jssene or zittene,
	jssenesqua	*plur.*	jssewe or zisswe,

hosenesqua
plur. jttewesqua
jssewesqua
hotittenesqua

Fut. sing. 'ntsene,
ahotene,
plur. 'ntsewe,
ahotittene,

Infin. Waëju, *to come.* *Perf.* waejuchne, *to be come.* *Fut.* naèju, *to come.*

Præs. sing. wagiu,
sachschiu or saju,
t'haju or s'hoju,
sayoju,
plur. jaqua,
s'waju,
hoti'ju,
guntqu,
Perf. sing. wagiuchne,
sajúchne,
s'hojúchne,
sagojuchne,
plur. tiaquajúchne,
s'wajúchne,
s'hotijuchne,
saguntijuchne.

Fut. sing. 'nsgio,
'n'tschio,
'nshóju,
'nsagoju,
plur. 'nt'waju,
'ns'waju,
'nshótiju,
'nguntiju.

Imper. is like the Præs.

Infin. Tentaje or Tentie, *to come again.* *Perf.* tentiesqua, *to have come again.* *Fut.* 'ntentie, *to come again.*

Præs. sing. Tentke,
tentsche,
tentre,
tentie,
plur. tentiaque,
tentissene,
tenthotiju,
tentiju.
Perf. sing. tenthegesqua,
tentesĕsqua,
tentehĕsqua,
tentiĕsqua,
plur. tentiaquĕsqua,
tentissnĕsqua,
tenthunnĕsqua,
tentquunĕsqua.

Fut. sing. 'ntentke,
'ntentsche,
'ntentre,
'ntentie,
plur. 'ntentiáquæa, &c.
Imper. as Præs.

Defective Verbs.

Verbs that want considerable branches or are used only in a few tenses or persons.

Infinitive.

Active.	*Passive.*
Præs. Jonnénu, *to accompany.*	(*fails.*)
Perf. jonnenochne, *to have.*	
Fut. 'njonnenu, *to shall.*	

Præs.

sing. Wagenénu,	*sing.* junkenenu
sannenu or snenu,	tess'nenu
honnénu,	honnénu
gonnenu.	gonnenu
plur. unquenu,	*plur.* tiunquénu,
s'wénu,	tess'wenu,
hunnénu,	hunnénu,
gunnénu, (fem.)	gunnénu.

Perfect.

sing. wagenenóchne,	*sing.* junkenenochne,
snenóchne,	tessne,
honnenóchne,	honne,
gonnenóchne,	gonne,
plur. unquenóchne,	tuinquenochne,
s'wenóchne,	*plur.* tess'we,
hunnenóchne,	hunne,
gunnenóchne,	gunne.

Future.

sing. 'ngenénu,	*sing.* 'njunkenenu,
'nsnénu,	'ntessnénu,
'nhonnénu,	'nhonenu,
'ngonnenu,	'ngonnenu,
plur. 'nt'wenu, &c.	*plur.* 'ntiunquénu, &c.

Imperat.

Præs. sing. Asnénu, *accompany.*	*plur.* As'wénu, *accompany ye!*
sing. n'osnénu,	
n'ahonnénu,	
n'agonnénu,	
plur. 'naswénu	
n'ahunnénu,	
'nagunnénu.	

Watiehhaqua, unexpected, has only the Perf. Tense.

sing.	wagatic'hhaqua,	*to me unexpected*
	wassatic'hhaqua,	*to you* "
	wahatic'hhaqua,	*to him* "
	wagotic'hhaqua,	*to her* "
plur.	unquatic'hhaqua,	*to us* "
	s'watic'hhaqua,	*to ye* "
	wahuntic'hhaqua,	*to them* "
	waguntic'hhaqua, (fem.)	*to them* "

Zawâtong, to recover from a sickness, has the Perfect and Future Tense.

	Perf.		*Future.*
sing.	Zagâtong, *I am recovered.*	*sing.*	'ngatong, *I shall recover.*
	Zasâtong,		'nsatong,
	Zahôtong,		'nhotong,
	Zagôtong,		'ngotong,
plur.	Zaunquâtong,	*plur.*	'nquatong or 'nt'wâtong,
	Zas'wâtong,		'ns'watong,
	Zahunnatong,		'nhunnatong,
	Zagunnatong,		'ngunnâtong.

Schitâje, *one is coming.*
schitâchne, *two are coming.*
tajuquarie, *many are coming.*
tiarat, *two lie together*, from wârat, *to lie.*
technühtero, *two are together*, from ühtero, *to be*, but is only used for *husband* and *wife.*

Of Participles.

Hattie or *tattie* seems to be the only one and is used at the end of a Verb when it bespeaks a continuation of the thing spoken of, e.g., *generochsquahatti, I am loving*, or *I love always.*

Voice, Number, Person and Gender are distinguished by Præfix of the inseparable Pronouns. Use can only teach which of the above mentioned præformatives suit to such or such a Verb, and Euphony or well-sounding has a great influence.

The Infinitive is the root; the Present Indicative is formed from it by præfixing a Pronoun and instead of that the first syllable of the Infinitive is commonly thrown away, and the Præformative takes its place, as:

jonoróchqua, *to love.*
genoróchqua, *I love.*
wauntgochtwi, *to see.*
gatgáchtwi, *I see.*

The Perfect is the present with an affixum of *ochne*, *hqua*, *chta*, *nha*, *squa*, *hqua*, *sta*, *hha*, &c.

The Future is like the Present with *en* or *in* præfix'd, but as the Vowel must be heard very little, an apostrophe is placed instead of it, as:

'ngerio, *I will or shall beat.*

The Imperative present is as the Indicative present, only an *a* præfix, as:

asanoróchqua, *love thou.*
as'wanorochqua, *love ye.*

Future imperative has the præfix, *na*, as:

na sanoróchqua, *you shall love.*
na honoróchqua, *he shall love.*

The auxiliar. Verb *I am*, does not exist in the Onondaga tongue, in its stead they use nominal verbs, which are all neuter, as:

wagenochwáctari, *I am sick.*
wegenochwactanihhachqua, *I was sick,*
'ngenochwáctani, *I shall be sick.*
wagatazhechs, *I am tired.*
gunquetis, *I am a good man.*
unquetiochnea, *he was a good man.*

When the Verb in the present ends with *ta*, the Perfect adds *chqua*, *chne*, &c.

A.

Pres.	*Perf.*	
ta,	chqua or chne.	gatgota, *I sit.*
		gatgotachqua, *I sat.*
		tiagocharechta, *call.*
		tiagocharechtachna, *I call.*
we,	chta.	aragéwa, *to wipe off.*
		aragewachta, *wiped off.*
ra,	nha or ochne.	tiatera, *meet.*
		tiateránha, *met.*
		waonatáchera, *visit.*
		waonatacherochne, *visited.*

qua,	squa.	jonhotónqua, *to open.*
		johotonquasqua, *opened.*
Pres.	*Perf.*	
ac.	hqua.	jühterôntac, *abide.*
		jühterontachqua.
	ki.	wagenochiac, *I hurt myself.*
		wagenochiaki, *I did hurt myself.*

(*Note*—Here is *c* of the present omitted or into *k* changed.)

ax	qua.	ganuwax, *I like it.* ganuwaxqua.
		ganax, *I lie.* genaxqua.
acht.	a.	wagattewacht, *I miss.* wagattawachta.
		gatequacht, *I hunt away.* gatequachta.
at.	ochne.	taieschuwarat, *I shoot.*
		taieschuwaratóchne.
		taiequocha, *fetch.*
		taiequachochne. (Euphony.)

E.

te.	chqua.	gathônte, *I hear.* gathontéchqua.
ge	hha.	waóge, *to see.* waogéhha.
he	sta.	waeràdhe, *to step.* waeradhesta.
we.	squa.	iwe, *go.* iwesqua.
ichte.	acherong.	the final *e* omitted.
		waonojichte, *to lie.*
		waonojichtacherong.
		wajichte, *to throw.*
		wajichtacherong.
ze.	hochne.	*e* final omitted.
		wagaze, *to tear off asunder.*
		wagazhochne.
Pres.	*Perf.*	
echte.	kne.	wagechte, *I carry.* wagechtêkne.
ek.	qua.	the final *k* into *ch* or *x*.
		jirhek, *to think.* jirhechqua.
		waek, *to eat.* waéxqua.

I.

wi.	chne.	wagüntwi, *I sow, plant.*
ki.		wagüntwichne.
ri.		enâwi, *to catch.* enawìchne.
		jejinteri, *to know.* jejinterichne.
		jehàwi, *to bring.* (has also jehawine.)
oni.	acherong.	jechwenoni, *to fold up.*
		jechwenoniacherong.

	hhachqua.	wagechseròni, *I make.* wagechseronihhachqua.
ani.	hhachqua.	jonochwáctani, *to be sick.* jonochwachenihhachqua.
ji.		onitaji, *to do your needs.* onitajihhachqua.
di.	ung.	wachtaendi, *to go.* wachtaendiung.
ti.		otschtarônti, *it rains.* otschtarontiung.

O.

o.	chne.	agaowo, *to say.* agaowóchne.
	chqua.	wachiato, *to write.* wachiatochqua.
	chna.	gano. ganochna.
	chochna.	watschiro, *to angle.* watschirochnochna.

U.

Pres.	*Perf.*	
u.	chne.	waeracu, *to pick out.* waeracúchne.
		enáqua, *to be angry.* enaquúchne.
	ochne.	jonnêne, *to go in company.* jonnenochne.

Adverbs.

Adverb is an indeclinable Part of Speech which being joined to a Noun, Verb or other Adverb, expresses some circumstance, quality or manner of their specification.

Adverbs denoting circumstance are chiefly those of Place, Time, and Order.

A. *Of Place.*

za? *where?*
ganò? *where?*
gaênto, *here.*
tohne, hissi, *there or here.*
watá-gárak, *within.*
hazte, *without.*
tigaquéki, *everywhere.*
jachgàtga, *nowhere.*
gangiquà, *somewhere.*
ojahoquadi, *elsewhere.*
nacu, *in, within* (*a hole, bag.*)
gachra, *above.*
hechtage, *below.*
ohento, *before.*
ochnáge, *behind.*
sgagaráti, *on both sides.*
hechtage, *below, upon the ground.*
jnu, *far off.*
jnuhàga, *pretty far off.*
ganohoquàdi? *whither?*
ganarequadi? *whether?*
nunquadi, neto, *thither.*
ojahoquàdi, *to another place.*
gangiquahoquadi, *to some place.*
schiquadihha, } *thither.*
hissinunquadi, }
nácu, *into it.*
tigoquekihoquadi, *everywhere to.*
zagejeñerechquihoquadi, *to the right hand.*
sgejenogaratihoquadi, *to the left hand.*
ochnagehoquadi, *backwards.*

tochsgehha, *near.*
quatòh, *close by.*
nêto, *this way.*
netonunquadi, *thitherwards.*
tiotogechto, *straightway.*

B. *Of Time.*

pres. zaòhne? *when?*
úchke, } *now.*
ohneuchke, }
ohnequatoh, *just now.*
ganschik, } *today.*
uchgaenschik, }
oras, *still yet.*
past. ohne, *already.*
seteschòh, *lately.*
sête, tataeri, *yesterday.*
t'waehntage ohne, *the day before yesterday.*
gajeri ne wahntage.
ohne, *four days ago.*
za, } *then, at that time.*
tóchke, }
jahónisse ohne, *long ago.*
to come. jórhae, } *tomorrow.*
jorhanha, }
ojaquà, *another time.*
wênto, *when.*
ojantschiórhae, *the day after tomorrow.*
gangiquâne waehntage, *the first days.*
garogehà, *soon, in a moment.*

quatoh, *immediately.*
achso, *not yet.*
tóchke, *than.*
gaenschikhiâri, *in a while.*
indefinite. zaòhne? *when?*
gêns, *sometime.*
scaenoàh, *slowly.*
astészi, *early.*
jgéshtschik, } *early in the morning.*
orhaengechtschik, }
garachquah, *late in the day.*
tiotcoùt, *always, at all times.*
tóchke, *than.*
jachwento, *never.*
tigáte, *often, many times.*
jahónisse, *long, the longest.*
jahónissehaze, *pretty long.*
gatogehha, *yet.*
ohnehe, *again.*
orasaquà, *over again.*
skataquà, *but once.*
ojaqua, *another time.*

C. *Of Order.*

tochke, *than.*
ochnâge, *thereafter.*
jatengajéri, *at last, finally.*
schihoquadi, } *further,*
taohne ne, } *moreover,*
najióchni, *yea also.*
tiotiérechte, *first.*
ochnegagŭnta, *the last.*

Adverbs denoting quality or manner of the signification of the Noun, Verb or Adverb joined, are absolute or comparative.

1.) *absolute.*

ojaneri, *good, well.*
wahétke, *bad, base.*
gannonem, *bad, heavy, dangerous.*
t'gachróchwa, *broad.*
gatès, *thick.*
gagáchre, *thin.*

wazaenaji, *fine, fair.*
tiogajù, *diligent.*
jozachnicht, *bravely.*
scaeno, *in vain.*
netoniocht, *also, thus.*
sadéwat, *equal, the same.*
zagata, *alike.*
aquas, *very.*

2.) *descriptive.*

schnotong, *deep in water.*
tiochses, *deep in earth.*
tiosserong, *deep in flesh.*
jos iontschik, *long.*

3.) *certainly.*

neto, náji, *yes, yea!*
aquas neto, *by all means.*
toges, *truly, verily.*
aquat togès, *certainly.*

4.) *Negation or prohibition.*

jáchte, *no!*
jachstennahote, *nothing.*
aquàs jáchte, *not at all.*
jachnowaento, *never.*
jachochni, *even not.*
achqui, *let it alone.*

zaniocht, *like as.*
netoniocht, *likewise.*
sadejocht, *even, also.*
netoochni, } *so too.*
najiochni, }
zagata, *at once, together.*
titschiáro, *they both.*
skatashòh, *singly.*

stenschoh, *something.*
niung, *much.*
iwak, *short.*
gochniso, *hard, firm, strong.*
gagozte, *hard, dry.*
otschiwagâ, *sour, sharp.*
owisquat, *smooth.*
otschiano, *fresh, cool.*
otori, *cold.*
awâenge, *upon the water.*
gahuwagescho, *a board on the water.*
hechtagescho, *a foot.*
jachtentóges, *not true.*

5.) *interrogation.*

otgarihoni, *why, wherefore, if, whether?*
ochtneocht? *how?*
otnahote? *which?*
ochti, náhote? *what?*
essowa, *much.*
gajeri, *enough.*
ostwihha, *little.*
hetke, *high.*
Ot? *what?*
ochtina? *what is it then?*
tohniócht? *how is it?*
netoke? *is it so?*
jachke? *is it not?*
jachgunte? *not?*
najike? *is it true? is it so?*
tohniung? *how much?*

6.) *comparative.*

essowotschik, *too much, very.*
oras, *more.*
ostwihháge, *less.*
ozitastwi, *very little.*
iontschik, *very long.*
netoniung, *so much.*
nióhak, *a little.*
scaenontschik, *slowly.*
tóha, *almost.*
tógat, kissè, *perhaps.*
hũng, *perhaps.*
netohũng, } *may be yes.*
najihũng, }
jachung, } *may be not.*
jachârong, }

ottiâge, *several.*
schungára, } *somebody.*
schungarati, }

togeshúng, *may be true.*
nioh! *well on!*
tschiâco, *well on do your best.*

Prepositions.

A Preposition is an indeclinable word, shewing the Relation of one substantive Noun to another.

The Onondagas use in their stead suffix to the Nouns, or Verbs, which in their sense comprehend such Prepositions, as:

in and *upon.*

ochnecanôs, *water,*
ochnecage, *in the water,*
geihuhatatti, *the river,*
geihuhatâge, *in the river,*
garóchia, *Heaven,*
garochiage, *in Heaven,*
uchwúntshia, *the Earth,*
uchwuntshiage, *upon ye Earth.*
ganiatâre, *the sea.*
ganiataráge, *upon the sea.*
gahuwejâga, *upon the ship.*
gahuntâge, *upon the plantation.*
ganatâje, *the town.*

anuwara, *the head.*
anuwaráge, *upon the head.*
otschischta, *fire.*
otschischtacu, *in the fire.*
genatschia, *the kettle.*
genatschiacu, *in the kettle.*
gahuwa, *the canoe.*
gahuwacu, *in the canoe.*
joshŭwe, *a hole.*
joshuwacu, *in the hole.*
ganochsâje, *the house.*
ganoschko, *in the house.*
genatacù, *in the town.*

on, upon, gâchera.

onŏnto, *hill, mountain.*
onontâchera, *upon the hill.*

onontachrâttie, *along upon the hill.*
ganochsachera, *upon the house.*

under, by the suffix ocu.

uchwuntschiócu, *under the Earth.*
garontócu, *under the tree.*
garochiocu, *under Heaven.*
otschtechra, *the rock.*
otschtechrócu, *under the rock.*
ogechra, *ashes.*
ogechrócu, *under the ashes.*

onizquachracqua, *bench, stool.*
onizquachrócu, *under the bench or stool.*
ochnecacúngwe, *under the water.*

zahunnatteriohattie, *during the fight.*
zahojotehâtie, *during his labor.*
zajonteconihâtte, *during the meal or eating.*
zataiochtaendiohâtte, *during walking.*
orás zahatattie, *during his discourse.*
zahochiatonnie, *during writing.*

at, on, by, by the suffix acta.

ganochsácta, *by the house.*
gahuntácta, *by the plantation.*
geihuhácta, *on the river.*
ganatácta, *on the town.*
ganawatácta, *on the swamp.*
johâte, *the path.*
onontactatic, *alongside of the hill.*
onontácta, *on the hill.*
garontácta, *on the tree.*
ganiataracta, *by the sea.*
ganawate, *swamps, morass.*
ochsochratácta, *on the cedar swamp.*
johahácta, *on the path.*
johahactáttic, *alongside of the path.*
ganawatactattic, *alongside of the swamp.*

Of.

áse hochseroni, *he made it anew.*
onaéja attachrote, *a wall of stones.*
otáhra ganochsote, *a house of brick.*
ganatajengóna tahecht, *he comes from Philadelphia.*

over, on the other side, by the suffix ati.

sgeihuháti, *on the other side of the river.*
tschianôntati, *over the hill.*
sganatati, *on the other side of ye town.*
sganiatarati, *over the sea.*

To, unto, the suffix ge or chne.

zinnagarechne wágéne, *I go to Zinagaree.*
sequalliséchne, *to Sequallisere.*
unquehuwéchne, *to the Indians.*
asseroníge, *to the white people.*
zathorochsaje, *to his house.*
otschinochiatáje wagene, *I go to Otschinochiata.*
t'giatechnúntera, *the next to me.*
titshia technúntera, *the next to thee.*
t'hotech nuntera, *the next to him.*

by, at, about.

zatonochsáje watgáchta, *I returned at his house.*
toha ganatácta, *near the town.*
otschischtácta hatgóta, *he sits at the fire.*
t'giateranége, *he sits by or with me.*

tochsgehha, *near, nigh.*
tochsgehha geihuháttie, *the river is nigh.*
tóha garrichwaehnta, *nigh the end.*
aquas gancataracta, *quite near the sea.*

for, before.

áchson tiogaras, *before night.*
áchson t'hodóni, *before his birth.*
áchso wiorhe, *before day.*
áchson t'hawohejúchne, *before his death.*

t'waehntagè óhne, *two days ago.* ohâento zagáje, *I have it before me.*
áchson t'hojúchne, *before he came.* áchne t'jogerontiung, *before it snowed.*

about, suffix actùntie.

ganochsachuntie, *about the house.*
garontactuntie, *about the tree.*
onontactantie, *about the hill.*

on this side, gáhrohoquadi.

gáhrohoquadi geihate, *on this side the river.*
gahrohoquadi zanatage, *on this side the town.*
gahrohoquadi onontacta, *on this side the hill.*

to, towards, hoquadi.

watewazodwa hoquàdi t'ganatáje, *the town lies to the westward.*
t'garachquitgaenha hoquàdi, *eastwards.*
garochiah huhoquàdi, *southwards.*
atoge hoquàdi, *northwards.*
zaganiatare hoquàdi, *towards the sea.*
neto hoquàdi, *thitherwards.*
gañohoquàdi, *whereabouts.*

within.

achso ne waehntage, *within three days.*
gajeri ne jochserage, *within four years.*
gajeri ne wechnitage, *within four months.*
ganatacù, *in or within the town.*
hactattie, *without.*
ganatactattie, *without the town.*

ne garihoni, *therefore.*
j garihoni, *as for me.*
hauha horihoni, *on his account.*

through.

ganatacù, *thro' the town.* gahuntacù, *thro' the plantation.*
jochseratattie, *thro' the winter.* achsontatattie, *thro' the whole night.*
s'wechnitaqueki, *thro' the whole month.*
geihuhatage waon zoòho, *to bathe through the river.*

ochnàge, *behind.*

ochnâge hâentero, *he is behind.*
ohuntacù, *behind the bushes.*
garontâge wahatachsechta, *he hid himself behind a tree.*
tistinecharáte, *behind one another.*
t'hunteranégessho, *they walked behind one another in a row.*

after.

zaòhne 'nt'wattequessai 'nt'wachtandi, *after eating we will go.*
zaòhne hawohéje, *after his death.*

zawaor hanhattie, *at daybreak.*
ostwihha waorhe 'ntwachtandi, *at daybreak we will set out.*

zatiodhentocte hegésqua, *I was to the end of the plain.*
zatisteniatarocte, *till to the end of the sea.*
zatischwuntschiócte, *until the end of the earth.*

zajogaràk, *about the evening.*
gangiqua ne garachquàh, *about the afternoon.*
gangiqua satewachsòntha, *about midnight.*

Interjections.

An interjection is an indeclinable word thrown into discourse to signify some passion or emotion of the mind.

1.) Joy. *nio! kî niawo! hei, hehe, nô niawó.*
2.) Grief. *hî! auwîh!*
3.) Wonder. *Nŭ! quòh a, ah, saniguchke satiánerong, hehe, hoho!*
4.) Praise. *aeh, náji, neto, toges!*
5.) Aversion. *eh, uh! omisserat.*
6.) exclaiming. *O! tah! goh!*
7.) Surprise or fear.
8.) Imprecation.
9.) Laughter. *he, he! ho, ho!*
10.) silencing.
11.) calling. *ki, 'st, toh, házqui, jŭh, i, i, i, ìh.*
12.) Derision. *eh, uh!* (*onisserat, awentoniat* (verb) Phew how it stinks!)
13.) attention. *goh!*
Respond. *ot, ochti, ochtina, nio, mahóte, ha, ho!*
concluding. *tah!* now you see! now you hear!
approving. *aeh, naji, neto, toges.*
concluding in Council. *juhaeh! jŭh, ùh.*

Conjunctions.

A conjunction is an indeclinable word that joins sentences together and thereby shews their dependence upon one another.

1.) úngwa, *and, too.*
jachóchni, *even not.*
sadéjocht, *as also.*
zaniocht, *as.*
zaniochtone, *even as.*
2.) *disjunctive;* as aqua, *but.*
3.) *concessive;* as kinè, *though.*
4.) *adversative;* as gatogehha, *nevertheless, yet.*
áqua, *but.*
5.) *causal;* as se (suffix), *than for.*
satgazto satochgarriaxse, *eat for you are hungry.*
ne wahóni, *because, since.*
jachta, *that not.*
negarihoni, *therefore.*
6.) *final;* as negarihoni, *that, therefore, to the end that.*
7.) *conditional,* as za, *when, so.*
zaohne, *altho'.*
jáchteza, *if not.*
qua, *only,* (is mostly a suffix.)
8.) *ordinative or continuative.*
jatengajeri, *at last.*
ochnáge, *hereafter.*
najiochni, *yea also.*

ADDENDA.

That the original MS. from which we have transcribed these pages was submitted to the late Mr. P. S. du Ponceau, is evident from the following annotations signed with his initials "P. S. D." [J. W. J.]

Verbalia.

Ganorochqua, I love.
genorochquahàttie, I am in the situation of loving, I am about to love or intend to love.

in the passive.

Junkinorochquahàttie, I am now, at this moment loved; one is now loving me.
wagiu, I come.
wagiuhàttie, I am coming.
wagiôte, I work.
wagiotehàttie, I am continually at work.
gachtaendi, I go.
gachtaendiohàttie, I am always going.
wagenochwattàni, I am sick.
wagenochwattanihàttie, I continue to be sick.

Participles.

In the Delaware language there are a multitude of participles. (See *Hist. Trans.* p. 416.)

The following shows that the Onondagos can express in their language our figurative and even poetical ideas.

The heart, aweriachsa
To inflame a heart with love, Schungara aweriachsacù
watecàta, otschischtoni; aweriachsatéke
esso-wotschik jonoróchqua garihoni.
The straw takes fire, (entzündet sich), esthonteratéke.
He quickly takes fire, gets angry, (Er entzündet sich heftig),
ohne waotéke, otschisch-tontáchqua.
otschischta, *fire.*
From Zeisberger's Dictionary, Verbis, herz, entzünden, *fever.*

It is curious that "hearts" and "flames" should be used by the savages as by us, to express the passion of "love."

P. S. D.

REGISTERS OF THE ANGLICAN CHURCH IN PENNSYLVANIA PRIOR TO 1800.

BY PHILIP SYNG PHYSICK CONNER.

[Abstract of a paper read before the Historical Society of Pennsylvania May 7, 1888.]

Although a period of more than two hundred years has passed since the service of the Church of England was ordained to be read in the Province of Pennsylvania, and one of nearly two hundred years since the offices of that church were first actually performed within her bounds, and although much has been written on that church's missions, missionaries, and church buildings, nothing has been said regarding the registers kept by those missionaries,—the record of the baptisms, marriages, and burials, ay, of the very existence of a body of churchmen; and yet, such registers were kept, and some of them still remain. The silence of church historians concerning this part of church history would be hard to explain were we not aware that this whole matter of registration, although enjoined by ecclesiastical authority, has, for the most part, been slighted and looked upon with indifference by both clergy and laity. And yet registration is a most important act and the register a most valuable book, for it is the proof of church existence, the evidence of numerical strength.

Such, at least, the register should be; but, unfortunately, for the reason above stated, even without the losses and accidents of time considered, it never is this, but, at most, a merely partial record and chronicle of the past. And yet, nevertheless, it is always valuable, and hence it is that I now propose to give a sketch of those yet remaining from Provincial times,—a sketch made chiefly from personal research and examination of the original registers, partly by corre-

spondence with the rectors of the old churches throughout the State.

Of all the registers of the Anglican Church in Pennsylvania the oldest is that of Christ Church, Philadelphia, since its mission was the first to the province, commencing before the year 1695 by the arrival of the Rev. Richard Sewell and the Rev. Thomas Clayton,[1] the first church being built under the latter's charge in 1695, and whose register, if not burnt in the fire which is said to have destroyed the most of the oldest records, may still be hidden away somewhere in Maryland, for Mr. Clayton died in that province, at Sassafras. As it is, the oldest register now known of this the oldest parish of the Anglican Church in Pennsylvania does not begin until nearly a decade after the dawn of the eighteenth century, viz., in the year 1709, its first entry antedating that of Trinity, Oxford, which also opens in the same year. Then come the registers of St. Paul's, Chester, and of St. Martin's, Marcus Hook. St. Paul's oldest register, beginning in 1704, was lost some years ago, but fortunately it was first copied, and its marriages, at least, may be seen printed in Vol. VIII., "Penna. Archives," 2d series. St. Martin's Church has a vestry-book, commencing in the year 1724, which contains some parochial registrations.

St. David's, Radnor, has an old volume with entries contemporaneous with the events they record, commencing in 172½, as, for instance, the list of persons taking the sacrament on the 23d of March said year; but its baptisms do not begin, strictly, until 1727, the entries of those recorded as having occurred in 1706 having been made long after that year. It has no burial register before 1800, and but one marriage recorded prior to that year, viz., Matthew Hughes to Margt. Madson, 2d August, 1737.

From these churches on the broad Delaware we must turn to the picturesque Schuylkill, in whose valley at Douglassville now rises the lovely Gothic shrine of new St. Gabriel's, and close at hand the ancient church and graveyard dedi-

[1] Perry's "History of the American Episcopal Church," Vol. I. p. 225.

cated to that angel. Here we find a register commencing in 1735, and a minute of its vestry duly recording the voluntary entering in of that Swedish congregation to the communion of the Anglican Church.[1]

And now comes a gap of fifteen years, that is, until 1750, before we find the opening of another register, and that record is the register of Gloria Dei, "Old Swedes," at Wicaco, Philadelphia, 1750. Why, this church was consecrated in 1700! Had it no earlier registers? Yes, but they are lost, gone, no one knows where. And in the loss of these records has vanished the early one pertaining to St. James's, Kingsessing, and Christ Church, Merion, for these two were long united to Gloria Dei, whose register embraced theirs.

And so, continuing our course in imagination, we spring from the Delaware, inland, to Lancaster, where five years later, that is, in 1755, the ink lay wet upon the first page of St. James's register. Then began that interesting and valuable series of records embracing not only the families of that city for over a hundred and thirty years, but also those of the country for many miles around; for its rectors were also the ministers to other congregations formed in the Province, and it is from this reason that the register of St. James's, in common with other "mother churches," is increased in value, for it is not only the record of one single parish, but also that of its associated ones, their records being, in many instances, at least, embraced in its register and not utterly lost, as has been supposed. Thus, for instance, although the old registers of St. John's, Pequea, of St. Thomas's and Bangor Church in Caernarvon, and of St. John's, York, are supposed to be lost, it is evident from an inspection of St. James's register that the loss is not total, since entries of rites performed in these places occur in it. Moreover, this register is valuable as recording other things besides marriages and the like; as, for instance, the date of the introduction of inoculation for the smallpox, etc. The

[1] Although embraced, under the general title of this paper, among Anglican churches, St. Gabriel's, Gloria Dei, St. James's, Kingsessing, and Christ, Merion, were originally of the Swedish Church.

first series of these registers is bound; but later and most interesting ones of about ninety to sixty years ago are but bundles of loose leaves tied up with string.

Through the facilities here afforded me, I was enabled to make the discoveries regarding the value of St. James's register, above noted, and "discoveries" I think I may well call them; for I doubt if any outside of the church knew of these old volumes, while I am sure the fact of their containing records of other points, besides St. James's records, supposed to be totally lost, was utterly unknown until found by me. And here I have the satisfaction of announcing another discovery,—the chest of Bangor Church, with its oldest deeds and records.

This chest had long been lost, no one knew exactly where it was; so, after consulting with the rector, who freely gave me all advice and directions in his power in aid of my quest, I started upon it; not mounted as a knight of old, however, but seated in a "buggy" drawn by a horse and driven by a Mr. Cox, a convert of glowing zeal. And truly the pilgrimage was a pleasant one,—adown the lovely valley of the Conestoga, on to Pool Forge where dwelt the family of De Haven, some of whom it was thought could give information of the box. We found the ladies of the house at home; but, unfortunately, both were so deaf that I was in despair. But Mr. Cox proved equal to the occasion, making them understand our mission, when one of them said, "Yes, there is a church box somewhere in the house; you may find it up in the garret." And so it proved; and soon I had it unpacked, discovering no old registers, but sundry account-books, and ancient title-deeds. Mr. Cox, with commendable promptness, clapped the box into the wagon and we drove off, discoverers and recoverers most lucky, for, out of the number of possible hiding-places, we had gone straight to the right one at once.

From Lancaster and the Conestoga Valley we must return to the Delaware. Here, in St. Paul's Church, Philadelphia, we find the next register. It begins in 1759 (1759–1806), about two years before the building was finished.

Its marriage-list is printed in Vol. IX. of the 2d series of "Penna. Archives."

Again we must wing our way from the great river, inland, to York. Here is the register of St. John's, beginning in 1786.

And now a still farther point must be reached, namely, St. John's Church, Carlisle. Here the register goes back to 1793. And now must we turn eastward, a hundred miles of flight lying between us and the next register. Straight from Carlisle to pleasant Torresdale on the Delaware, near by which we find, in All Saints' Church, a register containing a single entry for the year 1799, perhaps like that for the year 1706 in St. David's at Radnor, a record made long subsequent to the event it records.

Of the twenty-six churches which I find were built before the year 1800 the original registers from twelve are left; extracts from four of which have been printed. Of the other fourteen churches all is lost prior to the said year, excepting a printed extract of St. James's, Perkiomen, beginning in 1788. We must remember, however, that, as several of the last-mentioned fourteen churches were either associated with other churches, or at least were served by ministers in common with others, it is more than likely the early records of some of them are embraced in the registers of the twelve churches first mentioned. That such is the case in a few instances, at least, is certain; but, at the most, the matter saved to us in this way is merely partial and not consecutive; the fact being that through indifference and neglect many old registers are now lost, and, I must add, remaining ones are in imminent danger of the same fate: for generally there are no fire-proofs to keep them in.

Of the churches known to have possessed old registers now lost, I will mention, among others, St. Paul's, at Chester. It had a register commencing in 1704; but all that is now left of this record is the printed list of marriages, from 1704 to 1733, in Vol. VIII., "Penna. Archives," 2d series. A note in Christ Church Register, dated September 1st,

1779, and signed "S. P.," tells us that the Rev. Mr. Combe having gone to England, his list of marriages for the years 1774, '75, '76, '77, and '78 is missing. Other gaps occur; but notwithstanding a goodly mass of matter remains to this church, much of which has been printed, viz., the marriages from 1709 to 1806, in the "Penna. Archives," 2d series, Vol. VIII.; the burials, from 1709 to 1760, in the PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE, commencing in Vol. I., and the baptisms are soon to appear in the same journal. Of Gloria Dei, all before 1750 are lost; but from that date down the original registers remain, parts of which have been printed, viz., the marriages from 1750 to 1810, in "Penna. Archives," 2d series, Vol. VIII., and also in a separate volume by Mr. Park McFarland, Jr., who also possesses copies of the baptisms, burials, and epitaphs. The old records of St. James's, Bristol, were stolen to prevent their evidence in a lawsuit. Those of St. Thomas's, White Marsh, were destroyed in the Revolution, as the following citation shows: "April 17th, 1786, ordered that . . . proper books be provided for keeping the registers of this parish, the old books and registers having been destroyed during the late war." This quotation is printed by Bean, in his "History of Montgomery County," published in 1884, when it seems the record-book from which it was taken was extant, as well as another volume dating from 1742 to 1766. Both of these books have since disappeared. Bean also states that the "records" of St. James's, Perkiomen, begin in 1730; of these the parish registrations have all been lost, down to 1800; however, before that happened a list of marriages, from 1788 to 1810, was copied and may be seen printed in "Penna. Archives," 2d series, Vol. IX. I have already spoken of St. Paul's, Chester. I must add the case of St. John's, Concord, in the same county of Delaware. Its old record-books were shuffled about until, like a spent pack of cards, there were none left to deal. On one of their last fragments is written: "The first part of this book, having met with an ill accident, is left with William Pierce, if any one desires to examine them." All are now lost. It is the same with the early

records of St. John's, New London, in the neighboring county of Chester. Its present register begins in 1824, and in it are extracts showing that the parish possessed records at least as old as 1741.

From the above review it will be seen that out of the dozen old registers left but four have been even partially printed; thus eight remain with nothing between them and utter loss in case of flood or fire. I will give their names, viz., Trinity, Oxford; All Saints', Torresdale; St. David's, Radnor; St. Martin's, St. James's, Lancaster; St. Gabriel's, St. John's, York; and St. John's, Carlisle.

And now, in conclusion, I wish to ask whether the church will remain passive and indifferent to the fate of these records of her early flock? Will the thousands of to-day permit the memory of their ancient few to depart forever? The few, truly, naught now among living men; but just as truly the founders of your church, the chain that binds you to it in unbroken succession, the actual progenitors of many, the spiritual fathers of all.

If the few volumes that contain the records of the chief events in the lives of these your forefathers are to quietly disappear and all memory of them to depart forever, then continue to allow these frail books to remain as at present, scattered over the face of the State, subject to every accident, liable at any moment to total destruction by fire. But if, on the contrary, you have due regard for the memory of these who ploughed the field from which you reap, due reverence for those who, though now dead, lived for you; you, the living churchmen of to-day, will arise from such wasting inaction, and with united effort strive to save and preserve these records of your past. And in doing this you will not be setting an example, for the chance of that is lost, but merely following one already set; for here, within your bounds, by a people decrescent, not like you, increscent, is this already done; not only has a place been designated for the deposit of the ancient records of the Friends, but, in addition, reverent and loving hands, supported by contributions from the funds of this society, have copied the great

body of their registers; volumes of them are in the library of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. It is the same with the Roman Catholics and Presbyterians; each has either deposited many of its old records in a safe place, or else is engaged in preserving the same by copying and printing. Surely it is time for our church to save the remnant of her registers. If not done now, to-morrow there will be none to save.

I am aware that the church has a place appointed for the reception and storage of her records in this city; I refer to the room in the Episcopal Academy; but the place is not fit for such a purpose, a bare apartment in which the documents received are, perforce, but piled in promiscuous bundles on the floor, subject to sudden destruction, for the building is not fire-proof. Considering the character of this building, it is fortunate, after all, that no registers have come to it, the mass of papers being *printed* journals of the diocese.

The further use of this unfit place, as a muniment room, would be derogatory to the character of churchmen, so far as prudence is concerned. If the great body of members is still unable to afford the erection of a proper building for the preservation of the church archives, it can, at least, choose some safe place of deposit for original documents and registers from among the many fire-proof buildings of our city. Such a building is within a few doors of the present unfit place. I allude to the fire-proof library of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. If those vestries possessing old registers would send them to the said society, it would receive them on deposit subject to the recall of the vestries.

Thus, while the records would be in a place safe from fire and damp, and where transcripts of them could be easily made, they, nevertheless, would not cease to be the property of the parish whence they came, and recoverable at the will of its vestry.

The charge and preservation of ancient manuscripts is one of the chief objects for which the Society exists; hence,

to avail itself of this advantage should be the immediate object of the church in regard to her old registers. And therefore it is that I now respectfully but earnestly suggest that action be taken at once by the clergy and laity to collect and place these records in the keeping of the said Society.

So far I have appealed to the members of the Protestant Episcopal Church; but it must not be inferred that they are the only people interested in the saving and preserving of these records. By no means; on the contrary, the great body of Pennsylvanians, each one and all, are more or less concerned in the matter, irrespective of sect; for with us—a free and enlightened people, by whom Christianity is esteemed above sectarianism, and the teachings of reason and conscience held superior to mere dogma—no family is blindly bound to any one form of the Christian religion, but each generation follows that one deemed by it the best; hence, in the lapse of years, there may be much changing about among the various denominations, and hence, if any interest at all is felt in family-records, these records must be searched for amid a variety of religious bodies.

With grateful feelings and thanks to the clergy for the kind assistance afforded to me during my researches, and with the repeated recommendation to them and to my brother Pennsylvanians of every sect, that these records, which are valuable to all of us, be placed in safety, I close this earnest appeal.

MUSTER-ROLLS OF MARINES AND ARTILLERY COMMANDED BY CAPT. ISAAC CRAIG, OF PENNSYLVANIA, IN 1775 AND 1778.

We are indebted to Isaac Craig, Esq., of Alleghany, Pa., for the following copies from the originals in his possession, of muster-rolls of companies commanded by his grandfather, Major Isaac Craig, during the War for Independence, and an inventory of the stores captured at Forts Nassau and Montague, New Providence, W. I. The latter differs somewhat from that published by order of Congress. Major Craig, a distinguished soldier and citizen of Pennsylvania, was born near Hillsborough, County Down, Ireland, in 1741, and emigrated to Pennsylvania in 1765, settling in Philadelphia. In November of 1775, he was appointed lieutenant of marines in the navy, then being fitted out, and served ten months on the brig "Andrew Doria," commanded by the gallant Nicholas Biddle. He was present at the capture of Forts Nassau and Montague, the cannon from which were subsequently used in the forts on the Delaware and in Rhode Island. Commissioned a captain, 22d October, 1777. In November following, with the marine corps he was ordered to join the army to do duty as infantry. Retiring from the marine corps, on 3d March, 1777, he was appointed a captain in Col. Thomas Proctor's regiment of artillery, and promoted major in October of 1781, serving to the end of the war. He participated in the battles of Trenton, Monmouth, Brandywine (where he was severely wounded), and Germantown; commanded the fort at Billingsport, and joined Gen. Sullivan's expedition against the Indians of Western New York. He was one of the original members of the Pennsylvania Society of the Cincinnati. Major Craig died near Pittsburg 14th May, 1826. [Ed. Penna. Mag.]

MUSTER ROLL OF CAPTAIN CRAIGS COMPANY OF MARINES—PHILADELPHIA 19TH DECEMBER, 1775.

Mens Names	Age	Size		When Inlisted	Where Inlisted	What Country born	By Trade
		feet	inches				
Patrick Crawford	30	6	.....	9th Decr 75	Philadelphia,	Ireland,	Labourer, on Furlough.
William Steward	19	5	9	10th Decr 1775	Philadelphia,	Philadelphia,	Breeches Maker.
Henry Javet	28	5	8¾	18th Do. Do.	Philadelphia,	Switzer Land,	Servant.
Willm Wood	24	5	8¾	10th Do. Do.	Philadelphia,	Ireland,	Labourer.
John Nortan	28	5	8	18th Do. Do.	Do.	New England,	Carpenter.
Thoms Byrnes	19	5	8	9th Do. Do.	Philadelphia,	Ireland,	Docter.
Saml Johnson	24	5	7¼	9th Do. Do.	Philadelphia,	Chester County,	Brass founder.
Patk Kenney	23	5	7	18th Do. Do.	Do.	Ireland,	Brick Layer.
Henry Frazier	40	5	6½	10th Do. Do.	Do.	Holland,	House Carpenter.
Saml Harvey	21	5	6¾	12th Do. Do.	Do.	Christien,	Cooper.
John McNeil	19	5	6¼	9th Do. Do.	Do.	Ireland,	Cooper.
John Porreet	35	5	6¼	9th Do. Do.	Do.	Britain,	Jewiler.
Simon Harwood	30	5	6¼	13th Do. Do.	Do.	Philadelphia,	Labourer.
Jams Stevenson	33	5	6	11th Do. Do.	Do.	North Britain,	Mason—Discharged 19th Decr 75.
John Collins Junr	21	5	5¾	15th Do. Do.	Willmenton,	Brandy Wine,	Cooper.
Jams Williams	18	5	5¾	13th Do. Do.	Philadelphia,	Brittain,	Labourer.
Jams Campbell	30	5	7½	18th Do. Do.	Do.	Ireland,	Do.
Isaac Dewees	25	5	5½	15th Do. Do.	Do.	Kent County, Delaware,	Cabinet maker.
Willm Hopkins	27	5	5½	9th Do. Do.	Do.	New England,	Baker.
Andw Scott	25	5	5½	11th Do. Do.	Do.	Ireland,	Barber.
John Collins Senr	25	5	5¼	14th Do. Do.	Do.	Do.	Labourer.
Richd Owens	22	5	5	13th Do. Do.	Do.	Chester County,	Do.
Fredk Roughman	30	5	5	11th Do. Do.	Do.	Germany,	Hosier.
Edwd Leo	35	5	5	15th Do. Do.	Do.	Ireland,	Butcher.
Benjn Tute	19	5	5	10th Do. Do.	Do.	Dover,	Taylor.
Christr Warren	26	5	4½	18th Do. Do.	Do.	Ireland,	Weaver.
Thoms Mitchell	19	5	4½	9th Do. Do.	Do.	Britain,	Miller.
Willm Haislop	23	5	4½	13th Do. Do.	Do.	Do.	Painter.
Jams Kite	18	5	4½	13th Do. Do.	Do.	Do.	Do.
David Clarke	24	5	4½	9th Do. Do.	Do.	Ireland,	Wool comber.
Willm Lock	20	5	3¼	12th Do. Do.	Do.	Britain,	Taylor.
Fredk Bowman	32	5	5¼	11th Do. Do.	Do.	Germany,	Carpenter.
Willm Skinnell	30	5	3½	9th Do. Do.	Do.	Ireland.	Brick Layer.
John Bohman	25	5	3¾	19th Do. Do.	Do.	Do.	Barber.
John Fraycie							
Michl Goodman							
John Thomson							33 Effective
James Magrady							11 Dotto 22d Decr
Archld Neilson							—
Thoms Macaualy							44
Thoms Saltter							

MUSTER ROLL OF CAPTAIN ISAAC CRAIGS COMPANY OF THE FIRST PENNSYLVANIA REGIMENT OF ARTILLERY IN THE SERVICE OF THE UNITED STATES, COMMANDED BY COLONEL THOMAS PROCTOR. TAKEN TO THE FIRST DAY OF SEPTEMBER, 1778—

Commissioned	
Isaac Craig	Captain.
Laurence Alman	1st Lieut.
James Lloyd	2d Lieut.
John Stricker	3d Lieut.

Sergeants.	Inlisted for	Remarks.	Corporal.	Inlisted for	Remarks.	Bombardier.	Inlisted for	Remarks.
Thomas Wiggins.....	the war		Peter Tybough.....	the war		William Clarke.....	the war	
Samuel Blackwood.....	Do.	on furlough sick						
Elias Williams.....	Do.							
Matrosses.			**Matrosses.**			**Gunner.**		
Patrick Crawford.....	Do.		John Tame.....	Do.		James Fitzsimons.	Do.	
Jonathan Trickle.....	Do.		Peter Olingar.....	Do.	on Command.			
John Wilks.....	Do.	Guard.	William Blair.....	Do.	sick.	**Fifes & Drums**		
James Burns Sr.....	Do.		James Burns Junr....	Do.				
Thomas Dunlap.....	Do.		Ferdinand Shoebert.	Do.		David Brodrick.....	Do.	
Charles Kitz.....	Do.		John Lumsden.....	Do.	sick in quarters.	Michael Clingin ...	Do.	
Timothy Lane.....	Do.		Patrick McGunagle...	Do.	on Command.	George Thompson.	Do.	
James Murray.....	Do.		William Mahone.....	Do.	Inlisted 11th inst.	William Mahone...	Do.	Made*
John Harris.....	Do.					Anthony Hoover...	Do.	Enli*

September 12th 1778 Mustered then Capt. Isaac Craigs Company as Specified in the above Roll*
LEWIS NICOLA P. M*
in. pro*

* Copy mutilated.

PROOF OF THE EFFECTIVES.

Rank.	Capt.	Capt. Lieut.	1st Lieut.	2d Lieut.	3d Lieut.	Sergeant	Corporals	Bombardiers	Gunners.	Matrosses	Fifes	Drums
Present	1	...	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	14	2	2
Absent	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	3	...	...
Total	1	...	1	1	1	3	1	1	1	17	2	2

We do Swear that the within Muster Roll is a True State of the Company withou Fraud to these United States, or to any Individual according to the best of our Knowledge ISAAC CRAIG Capt. Artillery
JAMES LLOYD Lt. A.

Sworn before Me this 14th day of September
B. ARNOLD M. Genl

Inventory of Stores &c. taken out of Forts Nassau & Montague, New Providence, March 3d & 4th 1776.

46 Iron Cannon.
390—7½ Inch Shells.
2981—5¾ Do. Do.
1966—4¼ Do. Do.
140 Hand Granadoes
9831—Round Shot from 24 lb. to 6 lb.
154 Bolt & dbl. headed Shot.
11 Canister Grape Do.
2—6 Inch Mortars.
2—5½ Do. Do.
4—7 Do. Do.
2—11 Do. Do. 400 W^t each.
5—4 Do. Do.
46 Rammers & Worms.
46 Copper Laddles.
1 Cannon Scraper.
5 Old Copper Measures.
24 Barrells Powder.
220 Cannon Trucks.
407 Copper Hoops.
1 Broken Bell.
1 Good Do. (large.)
2 Boxes Tallow Candles.
4 Barrels Flour.
1 Sun Dial.
816 Fuzees.
12 Mortar Beds.
} Fort Nassau.

5—24 p^{d} Cannon.	Fort Montague
6—12 do. do.	
1—9 do. do.	
1240 Round Shot 18$^{lb.}$ to 6$^{lb.}$	
121—6 Inch Shells.	
81 Carriage Trucks.	
2 Copper Measures.	
22 Copper Hoops.	
1 Worm & 1 Ladle.	
Some old Copper & Lead.	

Am^{t} of dry Goods,
£355 ,,8 ,,5¼ Sterling

Extracts from a letter from Commander Hopkins of the American fleet to the President of Congress, dated on board the ship "Alfred," New London Harbor, April 9, 1776: "When I put to sea, on the 17th of February from Cape Henlopen, not thinking we were in a condition to keep on a cold coast, I appointed our rendezvous at Abacco, one of the Bahama islands.

"I arrived at the rendezvous in order to wait for them fifteen days, agreeable to orders. I then formed an expedition against New Providence, which I put in execution the third of March, by landing two hundred Marines under the command of Capt. Nichols and fifty sailors under the command of Lieutenant Weaver of the Cabot, who was well acquainted there."

ROBERT IBBETSON.

BY ROBERT PATTERSON ROBINS, M.D.

In my short sketch of Colonel James Coultas,[1] the statement is made that Robert Ibbetson, the brother-in-law of Coultas, the father of the wife of George Gray, was British consul at Lisbon in 1766. By a curious coincidence, in the same number of the MAGAZINE, this same statement is repeated by Dr. Egle in his sketch of George Gray,[2] with the trifling difference that he makes Ibbetson's Christian name William instead of Robert. In making my notes on Ibbetson I followed the short biographical notice of George Gray in the "Pennsylvania Archives,"[3] and I think it probable that Dr. Egle's information came from the same source. The statement, however, has thus gained considerable currency, and having found it to be inaccurate, I desire to correct it as soon as may be.

The records of the Friends' Monthly Meetings, and the copies of their Certificates preserved in the library of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, afford us some little information, and from them I have mainly drawn the facts which I am about to set down, although I must also acknowledge my indebtedness to the manuscript notes of my cousin, General Thomas L. Kane, whose researches upon all subjects relating to genealogy were painstaking and accurate.

We know but little of the early life of Robert Ibbetson save that he was a Dissenter, born at Leeds, and presumably of the respectable family of which another branch is settled at Denton Park, Yorkshire. Family tradition has it that it was not until middle-life that he became a follower of George Fox, but the certificate of dismissal about to be

[1] PENNA. MAG. OF HIST. AND BIOG., Vol. XI., No. 1, foot-note to p. 50.
[2] Ibid., p. 78. [3] "Pennsylvania Archives," 2d S., Vol. I. p. 11.

quoted shows that he became a member of the Society of Friends, removed to London, and in 1749 emigrated to Philadelphia. His brother-in-law, Colonel Coultas, had by this time built his house, Whitby Hall, near the Darby road, and this evidently determined Ibbetson in his choice of a residence, for the minutes of the Darby Meeting show that "Robert Ibyson, wife and children were received from Peel Meeting, London, 6. 2. 1749."[1]

After the marriage of his daughter, in 1752, he decided to remove to Philadelphia, and he was accordingly dismissed to the Philadelphia Monthly Meeting, 4, 4, 1753.[2] The certificate of his dismissal has been preserved,[3] and reads as follows:

"From our Monthly Meeting held at Darby the 4th 4 mo. 1753.

"To friends of Philadelphia Monthly Meeting

"Dear friends Our friends Robert Ibeson and his wife requestd of us a few lines to you on behalf of themselves and son in order to be more immediately under your care we therefore inform you that some years since they came well recommended to us from London & may likewise on their behalf certifie you that on enquiry we do not find but that their conduct & conversation has been answerable thereto frequenters of our religious meetings as friends in unity with us for whose growth and increase in the knowledge of the Truth we have earnest desires we recommend them to your Christian care and oversight with their son a youth & an apprentice in your city & subscribe our selves your frds Brethren & Sisters in the Truth

"Signed in and on behalf of our said meeting by

"Thomas Fell Enoch Bonsall Sarah Sellers Samuel Sellers Samuel Buntin Mary Smith Nathn Gibson Aron Hibbard &c. Elizh Fell & others."

After a brief sojourn in Philadelphia, Robert Ibbetson died, was buried 2, 6, 1756,[4] and his will was probated on the 23d of the same month. In this will he mentions his wife, Margaret, his children, William and Martha, his brother Richard, and the children of his deceased brother

[1] Records of the Darby Monthly Meeting. [2] Ibid.

[3] Philadelphia Monthly Meetings,—Certificates of Removal, page 233.

[4] Philadelphia Monthly Meetings,—Record of Births and Burials, page 348.

Hugh and his deceased sister Ann. He had married, in England, Margaret Coultas, daughter of Henry and Margaret (Chapman) Coultas, of Whitby, Yorkshire, and sister of Colonel James Coultas, High Sheriff of Philadelphia, 1755–1758, and by this marriage he had two children.[1]

(1) William, mentioned in the Darby Meeting certificate as an apprentice in Philadelphia, returned to England, and in 1768 was a merchant at Dartmouth.[2]

(2) Martha, who was married, November 25, 1752,[3] to George Gray, of Gray's Ferry, "according to the rites and ceremonies of the Church of England," as the family Bible puts it. This departure from the customs of the Friends required explanation, which was given several years afterwards, as appears from the following certificate:[4]

"From our Monthly Meeting held at Darby the 5th day of the 2d month 1755

"To Friends of Philadelphia Monthly meeting

"Dear Friends

"Martha Gray the bearer hereof desired a few lines to you as a certificate. We therefore inform you that She came recommended to us from London with her parents & almost ever since has lived within the verge of your meeting for which reason we can say little as to her conduct and conversation but refer to your better knowledge of her but so far we may acquaint you that at our last meeting She made satisfaction for her outgoing in marriage, as a member of our Meeting we recommend her to your Christian care & oversight, and as we are informed that in her very young yeares she received the Truth in the love of it our desires are that her fruit may be unto holiness the end thereof is everlasting life. With the Salutation of Love we conclude your friends

"Signed in & on behalf of our said Meeting by { Abraham Bonsall clerk, Sarah Sellers, Elizᵃ Fell Rebecca Davis, Ann Bonsall, Hanna Wood, and many more."

George Gray died in 1800, his wife having predeceased him. They left issue.

[1] General T. L. Kane's manuscript notes. [2] Ibid.

[3] At Christ Church, Philadelphia. (See "Pennsylvania Marriages," Vol. I., page 105.)

[4] Philadelphia Monthly Meetings,—Certificates of Removal, page 240.

There can be no doubt as to the identity of the Robert Ibbetson of the above certificates with the Robert Ibbetson whose daughter married George Gray, and as he undoubtedly was the same whose will was probated in 1756, it is manifestly impossible that he should have been British consul at Lisbon in 1766. But I think it highly probable that his son, William Ibbetson, who re-emigrated to England, and was settled at Dartmouth in 1768, was the English representative at Lisbon, and that it was from this fact that the confusion arose. Of this, however, I have no proof, and I am content to allow the matter to remain in abeyance.

THE RED LION INN.

BENSALEM TOWNSHIP, BUCKS COUNTY, PENNA.

[Abstract of a paper prepared by Mr. William J. Buck and read at the meeting of the Bucks County Historical Society, 17th July, 1888.]

The first highway used for travel by land was the route leading northeastwards from the present city of Philadelphia to the Falls of Delaware, where is now Trenton. In 1677, we find it called the "King's Path," whereof the court at Upland appointed, March 14th, 1681, Clause Johnson to be overseer "from Poquessink Creek to Samuel Cliff's," at the present Bristol borough, and John Arkaman from thence to the Falls; they being required to "repair the highways within their respective precincts, which is to be done before the last day of May." William Penn writes from Pennsbury to his secretary, James Logan, in Philadelphia, the 22d of the 6th-month, 1700, to "urge the justices about the bridge at Pennepecka and Poquessin, forthwith for a carriage, or I cannot come down." These extracts reveal to us the early condition of affairs respecting travel in this vicinity. After the use of this ancient highway for upwards of half a century, Philip Amos, in 1730, determined to set up an inn, and applied for a license to keep a public-house "near Poquessing Creek, on the highway from Philadelphia to Bristol," which later was given the name of the Red Lion.

After his death we know that his widow, Ann Amos, in 1744, received a license to keep the same, there being at this date but one other public-house in the township. From the colonial records we learn that on the 5th of April, 1747, a resurvey of the road was made "from Philadelphia to Poquessing creek, and over it to the Widow Amos', being eleven and three-quarters miles from the city." Nicholas

Scull, on his map of the Province, published in 1759, notes "Widow Amos;" also, William Scull on his map of 1770, and Reading Howell, on his large township map of Pennsylvania, published in 1792, calls it "The Red Lion."

Henry Tomlinson, an old resident of Bensalem (where he died in April, 1800, aged 79 years), for upwards of forty years kept a journal, noting therein the principal occurrences of his neighborhood, to which we are indebted for the following interesting facts:

"October 30th, 1763, there was a smart shock of an earthquake.

"May 18th, 1775, Joseph Cox went to learn the military exercise at Red Lion.

"August 5th, a great muster among the soldiers.

"June 24th, 1777, two soldiers took away two of my horses out of the plow.

"January 4th, 1778, the soldiers took away from me two cattle.

"March 6th, much wheat and hay burnt by the soldiers.

"March 15th, a horse taken by the soldiers.

"March 27th, a mare taken for the use of the Continental army.

"April 17th, all night the English ranging to Bristol and Bensalem.

"August 17th, 1780, had a horse taken out of the plow for the army wagons."

As Mr. Tomlinson relates, the people of this vicinity during the Revolution suffered severely from the marauding parties of the hostile forces. It was between the Red Lion and Dunk's Ferry that General Lacey destroyed a large quantity of forage in the beginning of March, 1778, to prevent its falling into the hands of the British while in possession of Philadelphia.

Benjamin Loxley, captain of the Philadelphia artillery, on his march to Amboy, makes the following remarks in his journal, under date of March 22d, 1776: "That they had started from Frankford at four o'clock in the morning and arrived at the Red Lion by nine, where they halted and

ordered breakfast, which the landlord refused supplying, stating he had not enough bread for five men; that he wondered how he could expect it for one hundred." During the Revolution, distinguished men sought accomodation at the Red Lion as they journeyed to Philadelphia while it served as the national capital: as members of Congress from Massachusetts, Messrs. Bowdoin, Cushing, Robert Treat Payne, Samuel Adams, and John Adams. The latter mentions in his diary as stopping here, August 29, 1774, again December 9, 1775, and October 13, 1776.

Washington, the 28th of August, 1781, with the combined French and American army, suddenly left the vicinity of New York, which he had threatened to attack, for the purpose of investing Yorktown and compelling Cornwallis to surrender. Henry Tomlinson states in his journal that the army passed through Bensalem August 30th, and that "General Washington went to Philadelphia, escorted by forty or fifty men, who rode sword in hand as a guard." It was this night, that a portion of the army encamped at the Red Lion, a locality favorable for the encampment of a large army.

The turnpike from Philadelphia to Trenton was commenced in 1803, and in the following year finished to the Poquessing, but from the Red Lion to its termination, at Morrisville, not until about 1813. The Hall family are now the proprietors in the third generation of this ancient hostelry.

RECORDS OF CHRIST CHURCH, PHILADELPHIA.
BAPTISMS, 1709–1760.

CONTRIBUTED BY CHARLES R. HILDEBURN.

[Philadelphia September the 14: a. do. 1710—The Clarks buck of accounts of the churg of Ingland In philadelphia Cept by him to Passefie and Sartyfie baptised bans published marreg and burialls from the year a domy: 1710 for the Publick good of the afore Said Church In Philadelphia In amaraca. by me Johnathon ashton Clack of the curch of Ingland in philadelphia in penselvania.]

1758 April 2 Abercrombie James, s. of James and Margaret, b. Jan. 26 1758
1711 Jan. 2 Abbett John s. Joseph and Mary 2 weeks
1710 Oct. 7 Abbott Thomas s. Joseph and Mary . . .
1712 Dec. 23 Mary d. Joseph . . . 1 day
1738 Feb. 8 Rachel d. Richard and Sarah 3 days
June 4 Acre Susannah d. Henry and Hannah 4 days
1737 Jan. 18 Actis Sarah d. Tarver and Elizabeth 11 years
Jan. 18 Mary d. Tarver and Elizabeth 9 years
Jan. 18 John s. Tarver and Elizabeth 2 years
Feb. 18 John s. Tarver and Elizabeth 3 weeks
1758 Jan. 22 Adam William s. William Jan. 13. 1757
1730 Aug. 23 Adams Elizabeth d. William and Rachel 5 mo. 3 weeks
1732 June 25 Margaret d. William and Rachel 8 months
1733 Nov. 25 William s. William and Rachel 4 mo. 1 week
1735 June 21 John s. William and Rachel 4 days
1737 Nov. 13 Alexander s. William and Rachel 1 month
1740 Feb. 25 Charles s. William and Rachel 5 months
1741 Dec. 26 Salomea d. William and Rachel 3 months
1743 Dec. 26 Rachel d. William and Rachel 3 months 18 days
1744 Oct. 14 Mary d. William and Elizabeth 7 months 5 days
1745 June 16 John William s. Wm. and Elizabeth June 11 1745
Aug. 18 Robert s. William and Rachel July 6 1745
1749 Mch. 5 William s. William and Elizabeth Feby. 6 1749
1752 Nov. 19 Hannah d. George and Catherine Oct. 5 1752
1754 Aug. 8 William s. William and Martha May 9 1754
1754 Aug. 18 Adams George s. William and Elizabeth July 28 1754
1755 Nov. 26 Elizabeth d. William and Martha Nov. 2 1754

1757 July 6 Elizabeth d. William and Elizabeth June 8 1757
Nov. 4 Mary d. Alexander and Mary Jan. 11 1757
1758 July 28 Ann d. Giles and Elizabeth Nov. 21 1757
Nov. 16 Rachel d. William and Rachel June 22 1758
1759 June 7 Mary d. Robert and Mary Dec. 1 1757
Sept. 16 Charles Henry s. Alex. and Mary Aug. 17 1759
Robert s. Robert and Martha June 25 1759
1750 April 15 Adamson Anthony s. Anthony and Dorothy Aug. 27 1749
1742 Dec. 11 Aedes Mary d. Robert and Ann 4 months
Dec. 11 Ann adult
1727 Jan. 29 Afflick William s. Willyam and Ann 2 yrs. 2 mo.
1730 July 24 Owen s. William and Ann 2 years 7 months
July 24 Elizabeth d. Willyam and Ann 6 weeks
1742 April 19 Albright Elias s. Anthony and Catherine 3 weeks
1746 Oct. 18 Hannah d. George and Mary Oct. 5 1746
1721 July 30 Aldridge Rebecca d. Peter and Elizabeth . . .
1759 June 1 Timothy s. William and Catherine April 3 1759
1757 July 30 Alridge Robert s. Timothy and Katherine July 11 1757
1742 June 25 Alemby James s. John and Mary . . .
1716 Dec. 21 Allen Elizabeth d. George and Dorothy . . .
1720 Oct. 9 George s. George and Dorothy . . .
1725 Aug. 6 William s. George and Dorothy 6 weeks
Aug. 6 Sarah d. George and Dorothy 3 years
1742 Feb. 15 Lydia d. Richard and Rebecca 3 weeks 2 days
July 28 Sarah d. William and Eliza 6 weeks
1743 May 25 Hannah d. Richard and Rebecca 3 weeks 4 days
1744 April 10 William s. Richard and Rebecca 15 days
1745 Sep. 18 Rebecca d. Richard and Rebecca Aug. 25 1745
1746 Dec. 27 John s. Richard and Rebecca Dec. 12 1746
1758 Jan. 1 John s. Thomas and Hannah Dec. 29 1757
1759 Sep. 23 William s. George and Susannah Aug. 29 1759
1743 Nov. 27 Allston Joseph s. Joseph and Judith 10 weeks
1746 May 28 Rowland s. Joseph and Judith April 23 1745
1746 May 28 Mary d. Joseph and Judith March 5 1744
1726 Dec. 2 Anderson Hannah d. Capt. Lawrence and Susannah . . .
1728 Dec. 5 Susannah d. Capt. Lawrence and Susannah 7 weeks
1730 Mch. 18 John s. John and Elizabeth 2 weeks
1732 April 24 Mary d. Lawrence and Susannah 2 days
1733 Sept. 27 Jane d. John and Elizabeth 18 months
1734 Oct. 27 Jane d. James and Sarah 2 years 2 months
1736 April 28 Jane d. William and Jane 20 months
1739 June 29 James s. James and Eleanor 2 weeks
1743 Dec. 30 Laurence s. Laurence and Abigail 1 month 18 days
1746 Aug. 13 Abigail wife Capt. Laurence Jr. . . .
1717 June 4 Andrews Ann d. Thomas and Abigail 1 year 1 month
1721 Dec. 25 Susannah d. Vidle . . .

1754 July 4 Christopher s. Joseph and Mary Jan. 1 1753
July 4 Joseph s. Joseph and Mary June 16 1754
1741 Sep. 26 Angel Mary d. John and Rebecca 2 months 3 days
1732 Nov. 26 Annis Mary d. William and Patience 10 weeks
1736 Dec. 16 Sarah d. William and Patience 2 years 6 months
Dec. 16 Ann d. William and Patience 10 months
1746 April 27 John William s. William and Susannah Nov. 14 1745
1748 April 26 Susannah d. William and Susannah Jan. 29 1748
1714 Mch. 7 Anthony Stephen s. Richard and Sarah 2 weeks
1716 May 20 Charles s. Richard and Sarah 4 days
1720 Jan. 24 Sarah d. Richard and Sarah . . .
1722 Nov. 10 Elizabeth d. Richard and Sarah . . .
1714 April 5 Antrobus Mary d. Joseph and Elizabeth 1 month
1717 Feb. 15 Elizabeth d. Joseph and Elizabeth 10 months
1731 Jan. 24 Ap Evan Susannah d. Margaret 2 years
Jan. 24 Margaret d. Margaret 2 years
1753 May 18 Ap Owen John s. Samuel and Hannah April 26 1751
May 18 Samuel s. Samuel and Hannah Nov. 16 1752
1754 Dec. 19 Hannah d. Samuel and Hannah Dec. 7 1754
1758 Mch. 8 Mary d. Samuel and Hannah Feb. 7 1758
1727 Oct. 15 Appleton Joseph s. Cornelius and Jane 7 months
1733 Feb. 6 Hester d. John and Alice 5 years 6 weeks
Feb. 6 Stephen s. John and Alice 5 weeks
1744 Mch. 11 John, adopted s., James and Elizabeth 7 years
1743 Oct. 9 Ares Catherine d. John and Eloner 4 weeks
1742 July 11 Arils George s. John and Mary 3 weeks 2 days
1738 Sep. 6 Aris Sarah d. John and Mary 2 weeks
1747 Jan. 21 Mary d. John and Mary Jan. 19 1746
1758 Mch. 8 Anthony s. Peter and Lucretia Hodgkinson Dec. 24 1751
1759 Oct. 7 Arkle William s. Thomas and Mary Aug. 22 1759
1741 Jan. 19 Armstrong Stephen s. John and Elanor 7 days
1737 May 18 Arnold Alice d. John and Sarah 7 months
June 12 Arping Richard s. Richard and Anne 4 months
1757 Nov. 9 Arty Catherine d. Thomas and Mary July 31 1755
Nov. 9 John s. Thomas and Mary July 14 1757
1731 Aug. 26 Asbrook Mary d. James and Elizabeth 3 weeks
1749 Dec. 14 Ash James s. Henry and Rebecca Dec. 9 1749
1750 April 29 Robert s. William and Anne April 15 1750
1752 Dec. 24 John s. William and Anne Aug. 19 1752
1755 May 16 Mary d. William and Anne April 7 1755
July 27 Mary d. Henry and Rebecca June 16 1754
1756 Mch. 11 Henry s. Henry and Rebecca Feb. 8 1756
1758 June 4 Joseph s. Henry and Rebecca May 21 1758
1732 June 6 Ashbey Mercy d. James and Mary 5 months
1713 Sept. 4 Ashborn Elizabeth d. John and Mary 1 month
1728 Aug. 15 Ashburn Richard s. Martin and Elizabeth 1 month

1726 Sept. 18 Ashmore Thomas s. Edward and Prissilla Sept. 9 1726
1729 April 16 Asheton Ralph s. Ralph and Susannah 1 month
1731 Sept. 17 Robert s. Ralph and Susannah 5 weeks
1733 Feb. 8 William s. Ralph and Susannah 1 month 3 days
1735 Nov. 23 Jonathan s. John and Mary 3 weeks
1736 July 31 Ralph s. Ralph and Susannah 6 weeks
1737 July 29 Thomas s. Ralph and Susannah 2 months
1740 Oct. 31 Margaret d. Ralph and Susannah 11 weeks
Nov. 31 Margaret d. Ralph and Susannah 11 weeks
1709 June 19 Ashton Issaac s. Jonathan and Hannah 2 months
1711 July 3 John s. Jonathan and Hannah . . .
1713 Sept. 13 Hannah d. Jonathan and Hannah 1 week
1720 Jan. 1 Susannah w. Ralph . . .
1723 Mch. 27 Robert s. William . . .
1726 June 15 Robert s. Ralph and Susannah . . .
1731 Aug. 24 Richard s. Richard and Mary 7 months
1736 Dec. 21 William s. Isaac and Sarah 2 years 6 months
Dec. 21 John s. Isaac and Sarah 10 months
1738 June 15 James s. John and Margaret 1 day
1739 June 9 William s. John and Margaret 1 day
July 30 Isaac s. Isaac and Sarah 1 year
1740 Aug. 18 Anne d. John and Margaret 2 weeks
1741 Mch. 22 Hannah d. Isaac and Sarah 8 months
1745 April 25 James s. Isaac and Sarah Aug. 3, 1742
April 25 Sarah d. Isaac and Sarah Jan. 24, 1744
1746 April 9 Frances d. Susannah Dec. 19 1745
1735 Nov. 26 Asselius Lydia d. Gustavus and Lydia 10 days
1710 Mch. 25 Asshton Charles s. Robert and Margaret . . .
1745 Nov. 22 Aston Susannah w. John . . .
1726 Jan. 9 Atkins Elizabeth d. Thomas and Rebecca Dec. 18, 1725
1733 Dec. 6 Atkinson Nicolas s. William and Mary 10 weeks
1735 July 26 Atley William s. William and Jane 26 days
1714 Dec. 31 Austin Edward s. John and Mary 4 days
1715 Nov. 28 Edward s. John and Mary 4 days
1730 Dec. 27 Elizabeth d. Edward and Elinor 1 day
1732 July 30 John s. Edward and Elinor 11 days
1741 Aug. 2 Auston Samuel s. Edward and Elizabeth 19 months
Aug. 2 John s. Edward and Elizabeth 3 years 6 months
1732 April 27 Avery Elizabeth d. Thomas and Martha 5 weeks
1734 Sept. 27 Axford John s. Charles and Sarah 6 weeks
1746 Mch. 23 Ayres Abraham s. John and Elinor Feb. 16 1745
1712 Jan. 9 Ayrs Charles s. John and Susannah 5 weeks

(To be continued.)

NOTES AND QUERIES.

Notes.

THOMAS LIVEZEY AND JOSEPH GALLOWAY.—Nearly one hundred and fifty years ago the banks of the Wissahickon Creek were occupied by mills of various kinds at all available places. There were grist-, fulling-, oil-, and paper-mills. The most prominent millers were the Robesons, Gorgases, Livezeys, and Rittenhouses. These mills were accessible only by cross-roads leading from the Manatawny or Reading Road, in Roxborough, and the Main Street in Germantown. As early as 1745, the Livezeys had a grist-mill just above where the Pipe Bridge now is, and that was only to be reached from Germantown by what is now known as Allen's Lane. For many years a certain Thomas Livezey owned and resided at the mill, and cultivated a large farm, and on the hill-sides had a vineyard, and, as was the custom in those days, made his own wine. No doubt it was good, for in 1768 Robert Wharton sent a dozen bottles to Dr. Franklin, who, in a letter dated February 20, 1768, wrote to Wharton as follows:

"DEAR FRIEND:

"I received your favours of November 17th and 18th, with another dozen of excellent wine, the manufacture of our friend Lievzey. I thank you for the care you have taken in forwarding them, and for your good wishes that accompany them."

Mr. Livezey was a member of the Society of Friends, and when the British were in Philadelphia, and our troops used to wander about seeking provender, he sunk a number of barrels of wine in his dam in the Wissahickon, where it remained until the close of the war. Some of that wine was bottled and preserved by the late Mr. John Livezey, a grandson of the said Thomas Livezey, until a short time before he died, in 1878. He gave me a small bottle of this *Revolutionary Wine*, which I shall deposit in our Society.

Mr. Livezey was a man of great prominence in his day, and for many years was a member of the Pennsylvania Assembly. Among other members of the Assembly was the celebrated Joseph Galloway, who was one of the leading lawyers of the Colony. He and Mr. Livezey were warm friends, and, being full of wit, often joked his friend Thomas for living in such a hidden place as the wilds of the Wissahickon,—so far removed from the busy world and so inaccessible.

Mr. Livezey had a large family of daughters and three sons. One daughter married John Johnson, of Germantown, and another, Peter Robeson, of Roxborough. Two of his sons were named John and Joseph. He died in 1790, and in his will speaks of his copy of Blackstone's Commentaries, which shows he had some knowledge of law. The following letter to his friend Galloway, shows his wit and also his appreciation of the beauties of nature, which were to be found then as now, along the banks of the picturesque Wissahickon.

"ROXBOROUGH, 12th Mo. 14th, 1765.

"TO JOSEPH GALLOWAY.

"DEAR FRIEND,—

"As thou hast often concluded from the lowness of my situation that I must be nearly connected with the Lower regions or some Infernal place of abode, I have sent thee the following true description of the place of my residence in order to convince thee of that error:

Near Wissahiccon's mosey banks, where purling fountains glide
Beneath the Spruces' shady boughs and Laurel's blooming pride,
Where little fishes sport and play, diverting to the sight,
Whilst all the warbling wingéd race, afford my ear delight;
Here are evergreens by Nature set, on which those warblers sing,
And flowery aromatic Groves form an eternal spring;
Refreshing breezes round me move, which with the blossoms play,
And balmy odours on their wings through all my vale convey.
Those charming scenes—did'st thou dwell here—would all thy care beguile
And, in the room of anxious fear, would cause a harmless smile.
Here's innocence and harmony, which give me thoughts sublime,
Little inferior to the place call'd Eden in its prime.
Thus situated, here I dwell, where these sweet zephyrs move,
And, little rivulets from Rocks add beauty to my Grove.
I drink the wine my Hills produce; on wholesome food I dine;
My little Offspring round me are like Clusters on the Vine;
I hand in hand with second self oft walk amidst the bowers,
Whilst all our little prattling ones are gathering opening Flowers.
In this low station here I'm fixed, nor envy Court nor King,
Nor crave the honours Statesmen crave, nor Cares which riches bring.
Honour's a dangerous, tempting thing, which oft leads men astray,
Riches, like insects, spread their wings and quickly flee away.
My meditations here are free from interrupting strife,
Whilst different ways, aspiring men pursue indifferent life;
I see what art the Clergy use who will be paid to pray,
And how poor Clients are abused by Lawyers' long delay.
I see what cunning artifice the busy men employ,
Whilst I this lonely seat of bliss unenvied here enjoy.
This is the place of my abode, when humbly here I dwell,
Which, in romantic Lawyer mood, thou hast compared to Hell.
But Paradise where Adam dwelt in blissful love and ease,
A Lawyer would compare to Hell, if thence he got no fees.
Canst thou prefer thy Heaven on earth—thy fee the Root of evil—
To this my lonely harmless place,—my Hell without a Devil?

"Permit me from my low situation to thine of eminence, to do myself the Justice to say, I am, with much respect,

"Thy sincere friend,

"THOMAS LIVEZEY.

"I shall conclude with the words made use of to Zaccheus of old,—'Come down—come down quickly,' for I want thee to dine at my house."

HORATIO GATES JONES.

PRE-HISTORIC WEST CHESTER.—The following extracts from a valuable paper on "Pre-historic West Chester," prepared by Mr. Philip P. Sharpless, and published in the *West Chester Republican* of February 9, 1888, gives the location of Indian villages and paths on and adjacent to the present site of West Chester:

"On the south side of the town [West Chester], within one or two hundred yards, ran the great path which led from their fishing-grounds, on the Susquehanna at Peach Bottom to the rapids of the Delaware. Near, and on both sides of it, are the sites of many of their villages.

The Susquehanna was visited early in the spring by whole tribes on arriving of fish from southern waters, as was common at that season of the year, returning to the Delaware as the season advanced.

"The great path, which is still visible in some places, commences, so far as I know it, and is still well marked at that point, in a piece of wood on lands of the late Abraham Williams, formerly known as the southeast corner of the eighty acres. Passing nearly directly west, it enters the small woods formerly owned by Joshua Darlington, now belonging to Wm. Smith, where it may still be traced. Continuing west through the south side of 'The Friends Burial Company's Grounds,' thence it passes between the residences of Smedley and John Darlington. Continuing its westerly course, it now crosses over the hill on to the land of W. T. Ingram, then to about fifty feet south of the gateway leading to the dwelling of the late Emmor Davis, crossing the Birmingham road north of Sconneltown school-house, it runs through the farm of Paschall Hacker, thence on to the land of Wm. Reid; still continuing the same course, its route was up the road on Dr. Price's farm, in front of his greenhouses, and so on through George Little's woods to the Brandywine, being nearly a straight line from where it enters the land of Abraham Williams, until it reaches the creek about one-half mile above the forks.

"On the sides of this great highway I can locate the sites of at least twenty old camping places that have been occupied by Indians, not one of which is more than three miles from West Chester. To find these locations they must be looked for after the ground has been recently ploughed or harrowed, whilst it is still free from vegetation, and soon after a rain. When a field is in corn, or after it has been cut, it affords the best opportunity to ascertain the location of an Indian camp; but an amateur, when in the midst of a town-site, will often be disappointed because of his impatience and his want of knowledge. He will look for arrow- or spear-points when these may have all disappeared, having been gathered and sent away, while the spalls under his feet, the hammer, the knife, or pieces of basins or other worked stone may abound without attracting notice.

"A little practice with an expert will soon enable him to overcome this difficulty if he has patience, and of this he will need a good store, as it may be years before grass lands may be turned into fallow grounds; and until this is done his labor will be in vain, as most of the objects he is in search of are buried beneath the sod, whilst the farmer has removed those that laid on the surface and sent them away to help macadamize some road.

"There are four well-marked camping-sites within the borough of West Chester. The first is in the southeastern part, about one hundred yards west of the Philadelphia and West Chester Railroad, where it crosses the borough line.

"The hill faces to the southeast, and the camp extends from top to foot of the same, covering about four acres, and is located near a spring of good water.

"The second camp is on a stream in the southern part of the borough, between Darlington Street extended and New Street, and where it is proposed in the future to lay Nields Street, on the line between lands of George Fitzsimmons, Albert Hall, and others. There are about eight acres in this camp.

"Number three is on the same stream, in the southwest corner of the borough, on the farm of Dr. Jacob Price, near the fine spring which he now uses for dairy purposes. The new house west of his barn is near the centre of the camping ground, and I think must have exceeded

either of the others in size, or contained a greater number of inmates than they did. Between numbers two and three are several places that have been temporarily occupied by the Indians, where their marks are not so distinct as those named.

"To the north of number three, in a lot belonging to M. B. Hickman, between Wayne and Brandywine Streets, and north of Price, around an excellent spring, have been found many good arrow-points, but a more thorough examination will be required to ascertain how they came there. If a village stood there at any time it must have been a small one.

"Number four is on the lands of Hoopes, Bro. & Thomas, east of the old borough water-works. It is undoubtedly the spring from which the savages obtained their supply of water. The centre of their camps must have been near where the barn of the company now stands, situated northwest of the road leading to the residence of Wm. P. Marshall, and about two hundred yards northeast of the public park. These grounds have long been under cultivation, and most of its treasures have been carried away, but there remains sufficient of waste material to mark it as a favorite dwelling-place."

THE FOULKE FAMILY OF GWYNEDD, PA.—In preparing the sketch of the genealogy of the Foulke family (descendants of Edward Foulke, of Gwynedd) in my *Historical Collections Relating to Gwynedd*, I failed to get either full or satisfactory details concerning the line of Caleb Foulke, Jr. Recently Mr. Frank Foulke, of New York City, a lineal descendant of Caleb, has supplied me with data enlarging and correcting what is given in my book. I therefore offer it in the PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE in the hope that it may reach some of those particularly interested in the subject.

The line to Caleb, Jr., is as follows:

1. Edward Foulke, of Gwynedd, original settler there, 1698.
2. Thomas, m. Gwen Evans.
3. William, m. Hannah Jones.
4. Caleb, m. Jane Jones (dau. of Owen, of Wynnewood, Lower Merion).
5. *Caleb, Jr.* He was twice married. His first wife, whom he m. 11th mo. 26, 1795, was Margaret, dau. of Thomas and Sibina Cullen, who died 7th mo. 23, 1809, buried at North Wales. (She had a sister who m. a Mr. Cottinger, of Baltimore.) His second wife was Sarah Hodgkiss, widow, of Germantown, whom he m. in 1814. By Margaret he had ten children, five of whom survived infancy, and are named below. By Sarah he had one daughter named Sarah, who died unm. 6th mo. 3, 1834. The five children were:

6. Louisa, b. in Philadelphia, 12th mo. 21, 1797; d. unm. in Jersey City, N. J., Oct. 24, 1886; buried at Gwynedd.

7. Jane, b. at Gwynedd, 8th mo. 30, 1799; d. in Philadelphia, June 20, 1845; m. Alexander Hall, and had one son who d. unm.

8. Ellen, b. in Philadelphia, 3d mo. 30, 1801; m. Samuel Hatfield (uncle to Dr. Nathan Hatfield, Sr.); d. in Jersey City, July 12, 1880; buried at Gwynedd.

9. William, b. at West Caln, Chester Co., Pa., 2d mo. 2, 1804; d. in Philadelphia, 12th mo. 2, 1847; m. at Hadley, Mass., Oct. 26, 1830, Lucy Dickinson, and had three children: (1) Charlotte, d. in infancy; (2) Margaret, b. in Philadelphia, Jan. 13, 1833; m. in Philadelphia, Oct. 25, 1866, Arthur Johnes, of New York City (who d. March 27, 1880), and has two living children, William F., b. Jan. 15, 1868, and Lucy, b. June

8, 1870; (3) Edward D., b. February 14, 1837, in Philadelphia; d. unm May 15, 1887.

10. Henry, b. at Berwick, Pa., 2d mo. 9, 1808; d. in New York, April 20, 1866. He m. Sept. 25, 1832, at the house of her brother, Jonathan Trotter, of Brooklyn (then mayor of that city, the second in service), Hannah Trotter, of Newcastle-on-Tyne, England.

(10). The issue of Henry and Hannah Trotter Foulke are as follows:

11. William Henry, b. in New York, July 1, 1833; m. Clara Hoyle of that city. No children.

12. Charles Trotter, b. in New York, March 6, 1837; m. Emma Gildersleeve, of that city, and has issue: Henry, b. Sept. 1, 1858; Jane, b. Nov. 19, 1860; Joseph S., b. Sept. 11, 1862; Frank, b. July 31, 1864.

13. Jane, b. in New York, May 18, 1844; m. in Philadelphia, May 7, 1863, John Potts Rutter, of Pottstown, Pa. He went to New York, 1864, became a member of the New York Stock Exchange in 1870; d. Nov. 6, 1887. No children.

14. Frank, b. in New York, Feb. 9, 1849; m. Mrs. Marguerite Staples Wood, *née* De Puy, of Delaware Water Gap, Pa. (The De Puys is the oldest family in that section.) No children.

In comparing the foregoing with the account given in my book (page 241) there will be observed several corrections, but the most important is the addition of the fifth child (Henry) of Caleb, Jr., and Margaret, his children and grand-children being all that are now living of this branch of the family.

I add a few further details concerning the two sons of Caleb and Jane (Jones) Foulke (4th generation above). They were:

1. *Owen.* In my book few details are given concerning him. Besides being a partner with his father in business, he was a member of the Philadelphia bar, and was regarded as a man of more than ordinary talent. In 1798 he became a member of the City Troop. During the later years of his life he practised law in Sunbury, Pa. He was born in Philadelphia, 6th mo. 27, 1763, and died (and was buried) at Gwynedd, 8th mo. 30, 1808. He was, I believe, unmarried.

2. *Caleb, Jr.* (named above, No. 5), was born in Philadelphia, 8th mo. 7, 1770, and died in that city, 10th mo. 15, 1823. He was a merchant.

HOWARD M. JENKINS.

Avalon, Gwynedd, Pa.

WASHINGTON'S DIARY.—Oliver Pollock, noticed in Washington's Diary, PA. MAG., Vol. XI. p. 306, in a note as attorney-at-law, is no doubt an error, as he was a wealthy merchant of New Orleans. He joined the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick June 17, 1783. (See a brief account of the Society, published in 1844, p. 79.) He came to Philadelphia before 1791 (see Directory of that year, in which he is called Oliver Pollock, Esq.); and as this designation was at that day only applied to lawyers, judges, and government officials, it led to this error.

JOHN HILL MARTIN.

ACCOUNT OF ANDREW BRADFORD AND CLAUS RITTENHOUSE.—Among my collection of the Rittenhouse and Bradford papers is an account which is given below. It shows the prices of rags, paper, etc., in the year 1729. The Claus Rittenhouse was the second paper-maker in America, and was also a Mennonist preacher, and officiated at Germantown, where the church of which he was preacher still exists. Although the name of Andrew Bradford does not appear in the account, yet I am satisfied it came from his office, as in it there is a charge for printing the

"Minones Book." By referring to Hildeburn's "Issues of the Press," Vol. I., p. 82, it will be seen that in 1727, Andrew Bradford printed the "Mennonist Confession of Faith," and no other Mennonist book was printed in Pennsylvania in 1728 or 1729. The paper used by the accountant has on it the Rittenhouse paper-mark, viz., the clover-leaf.

HORATIO GATES JONES.

PHILADELPHIA June 27th 1729

CLAUSE RUTTENHOUSE Acompt.			Dr
		To Cash	£0.10. 0
	21	To 710 ℔ Rags at 1½	4. 8. 9
	17	To Cash	2. 0. 0
August	2.	To Cash 1.10.0 To 14 ℔ Glew 0.14*s*.0 . .	2.04. 0
"	14	To Cash	1. 0. 0
"	23	To Cash	1. 0. 0
Septem^br^	6.	To Cash	1. 0. 0
	20	To Cash	0.15. 0
	22	To Cash	1. 0. 0
	27	To Cash	1. 0. 0
October	18	To Cash	1. 0. 0
	25	To Cash	1. 0. 0
	27	To 12½ of Glew	0.12. 6
November	17.	To Cash 2.0.0. To 25 ℔ Cheese at 4½ 0.9*s* 4./2	2. 9. 4½
December	3.	To Cash	1.15. 0
	11	To Cash 10*s* To 636 ℔ Rags at 3.16.6 . .	4. 6. 6
	20	To Cash £1. To ½ Bushel of salt 1*s* 3. To a Brass Kettle of John Hyatt 1.6.3 . .	2. 7. 6
Jan^y^.	17.	To Cash	1.10. 0
March	6.	To Cash £1. To Cash in part for Brining ye Minones Book £1 To Cash for account of Philip French, York 18*s*. To Cash payed y^r^ son Matthias £7. To ½ ℔ of Chocolate 2*s*. 4. To Cash 10*s*. . .	10.10. 4
April	10	To Cash	1.10. 0
			£21.19. 0

Contra			Cr
1729 June	27	By 36 ℔ press Papers at 9^d^ . . .	£2. 2. 0
July	3	By 1 Ream writing paper at 14 By 3½ Reams Printing paper at 7/6 . . .	2. 0. 3
"	12	By 4½ Reams Brown paper at 4/6 By 2½ Reams printing paper at 7/6 By 45 ℔ press paper at 9^d^ per ℔ By 2 Reams of writing at 14/	4.19. 9
	17	By 3 Reams Large printing paper at 10/ .	1.10. 0
	22	By 1½ Reams printing Large at 7/6 . .	0.10. 9
August	14.	By 11 Reams printing paper at 7/6 . .	0.10. 9
"	23.	By 14½ ℔ Fine press papers at 11^d^ . .	4. 2. 6
Septem^br^	6	By 7 Reams of Brown paper at 4/6 . .	0.13. 3
"	20.	By 5½ Reams of printing paper at 7/6 .	1.11. 6
"	22.	By 30 ℔ press papers at 11^d^ By 20 pound press papers at 10^d^	3. 8. 0
"	27	By 15 ℔ of press papers at By 3 ℔ Coarse at	1.10. 5

October	18. By 16 ℔ Paist Board at By ½ a Ream of writing paper	0.12. 0
	25. By 86½ ℔ Bonet papers at 9ᵈ By a Ream of Brown	3.11.10½
November	17 By 3 Reams writing at 14 By 2 Reams Brown 4/6	2. 6. 6
December	3. By 42½ ℔ paist Board at 7ᵈ By 2 Reams of Brown paper at 4/6 By 1 Ream printing	2. 4. 6
	11 By 2 Reams Brown paper at 4/6 . .	0. 7. 6
	20 By 3½ Reams Brown paper at 4/6 By 1 Ream writing paper	1. 9. 0
January	17. By 5 Reams of Brown paper at 4/6 . .	1. 2. 6
March	6. By 5 Reams Brown paper at 4/6 By 2½ Reams Printing paper at 7/6 . .	2. 1. 3
1730 April	6. By ½ Ream writing at 14	0. 7. 0
		£36.12. 3

LETTER OF PIERPONT EDWARDS TO DR. JAMES HUTCHINSON, OF PHILADELPHIA.

"NEW HAVEN, Octʳ. 4, 1792.

"SIR:

"The importance of the subject, upon which I shall address you in this, must be my apology for troubling you.

"A dissatisfaction with the Vice-President, which is extensive though not general in the Eastern States, induces a wish to fill that office with a character more unexceptionable. Many suppose that a too strong tendency to aristocracy is a trait in Mr. Adams's character; I am of the number of those who entertain this idea.

"We are not without hope from New England, that, even here, something can be done, but our greatest expectations are from those friends to true republican liberty who live south of us.

"There certainly are symptoms in our present court and courtiers that are alarming. A disposition to treat with coldness those who, from an honest regard to the preservation of real liberty can not blindly devote their interest to the support of all their measures, points out the danger of unconditionally advocating their schemes, and sound the alarm to those who mean to guard against the first advances of tyranny.

"To preserve our liberties, we think a watchful reasonable jealousy is necessary, and we shall always endeavor to tread upon the line which divides between stupidity on the one hand, and zeal without knowledge on the other.

"The names of Governor Clinton and Col. Burr (and of no others) are seriously mentioned. Some votes, we flatter ourselves, can be procured for either of them. But all that can be done here will be fruitless, if it is not done in concert with the South. Rhode Island, Vermont, New York, and New Jersey will yield, as we are led to believe, important support to either of them. After all our dependence is upon the States which form the Southern division of the empire.

"May I solicit the favor of a line from you, advising me of the arrangements which are, or shall be, made on this subject. Secrecy is indispensably requisite here, we therefore at present only whisper our thoughts to a few, very few, confidants. If we can be honored with information of your final resolution, no exertion shall be wanting to insure success.

"Candor obliges me to observe to you, that ancient political antipathies to Governor Clinton will render his success here more precarious than Col. Burr's.

"A knowledge of your character is the policy of insurance on which I have hazarded this free communication.

"I have the honor to be with very great respect your most Obedient and very Humble

"PIERPONT EDWARDS."

GENEALOGICAL NOTES. ABSTRACTS OF WILLS RECORDED IN PHILADELPHIA.

JAMES PLUMLEY, of Middletown, in the county of Bucks. Wife Mary. Son John (an infant). Brother Charles Plumley. Uncle William Budd. Dated 8th mo. 16, 1702; proved Oct. 14, 1702.

CHARLES PLUMLEY, of Philadelphia, joiner. Wife Rose. Son Charles and daughter Sarah, both under 21. Brothers George and John Plumley. Brother-in-law Henry Paxson. Dated Nov. 13, 1708; proved Dec. 17, 1708.

AUSTIN PARIS. Wife Elizabeth sole heir and executrix. Dated March 20, 1729/30; proved April 7, 1730.

ELIZABETH PARIS, of Philadelphia, widow. Nephew George Okill, of Philadelphia, merchant, residuary legatee and executor. Small bequests to John Wilme, of Cole's Alley, Castle St., Dublin, Silversmith, and his daughter Elizabeth. Dated Dec. 15, 1740; proved Aug. 24, 1741.

MORTON GARRET, of Blockley, yeoman. Wife Bridget. Sons John and Jacob Garret. Daughters Magdalen and Christian Garret. Dated 7th mo. 8, 1750; proved March 23, 1750/1.

ABIGAIL MORTON, of Philadelphia, widow. Son John Hood. Daughters Elizabeth Custard and Rebecca Scattergood. Grand-daughters Ann Watson and Elizabeth Custard. Mentions also Prudence and Sarah West, daughters of Charles and Sarah West. Dated 10th mo. 1, 1748; proved Oct. 26, 1750.

LAWRENCE MORTON, of Darby, Chester Co., yeoman. Wife Bridget and unborn child. Son Tobias. Brothers John Matthias and David Morton. Dated April 5, 1713; proved June 16, 1713.

WILLIAM GARRIT, late of Darby, Chester Co., but now of Philadelphia. Daughters Sarah, wife of Randal Croxton, Hannah, wife of William Tidmarsh, and Alice, wife of Joseph Powel. Sons William and Samuel Garrit. Grandchildren Hannah, William, and Job Noble. Mentions Susannah, William, and Hannah, children of Thomas Garrit, deceased, and his kinswoman Sarah Dun. Dated Feb. 26, 1723; proved Dec. 3, 1724.

NATHANIEL EVERSTON, of Wiccacoe. Friend John Johnson, his daughters Mary and Martha, and his (J. J.'s) nephew John Smith. William, son of Joshua Kennelly, of Dorset Co., Md. Dated Oct. 9, 1719; proved Oct. 26, 1720.

JUSTEA JUSTEA, of Kinsess., yeoman. Sons John, Thomas, Justea, and Morton Eusten. Sons Charles and Andrew Justea. Daughters Ellen Morton and Mary Justea. Charles, Frederick, Joseph, Elizabeth, Ann, and Mary, the six children of his brother Charles Justea. Dated Feb. 7, 1721/2; proved Feb. 17, 1721/2.

SWAN JUSTEN, of Kinsess. Sons Peter and Swan Justen. Daughters Britta Roads, Judith and Ann Justen. "My 3d wife" Katherine Justen. Brother Morris Justen. Dated April 19, 1722; proved March 9, 1722/3.

ERIC GUSTANBURG. Wife Hannah. Peter Johnson, and Peter Jones, "my sisters' sons." Mary Toy, Bridget Toy, and Abigail Ward, daughters of my deceased brother Niels Gustanburg. Sister Britta Enoch. Brother-in-law Nicholas Likin. Mentions Lena, wife of Garret Morton. Dated May 28, 1719; proved Feb. 9, 1724/5.

ANDREW LONGACRE, of Philadelphia. Wife Maudlin. Sons Peter, Andrew, and Gabriel Longacre. Daughter Ellen. Dated Oct. 10, 1718; proved Dec. 10, 1718.

ANDREW JONASON, of Lower Dublin, yeoman. Sarah Cosins, with whom I have been twice published at the Swedish Church at Wiccacoe, sole heir and executrix. Dated Nov. 5, 1738; proved Dec. 19, 1738.

ANDRÉ BANKSON, of Philadelphia Co. Wife Gertrude. Sons Benet, André, John, Peter, Jacob, and Daniel Bankson. Daughters Catharine and Bridget Bankson. Friends Lawrence Cock and André Rambo. Dated Aug. 30, 1694; proved Sept. 2, 1706.

HANS URING, of Calcoon Hook, Darby, Chester Co., yeoman. Wife Elizabeth. Sons Frederick, Johannes, and Andrew Uring. Daughters Elizabeth, Mary, Dorothy, and Ellen Uring. Friends John Bhenston and Swen Boon. Dated March 5, 1713; proved May 7, 1713.

GABRIEL LONGACRE, of Kingsess., yeoman. Mother Maudlin. Sisters Mary, Anna, Maudlin, and Britta Longacre. Dated Jan. 18, 1722/3; proved June 8, 1723.

JOHN RAMBO, of Upper Merion. Wife Sarah. Sons Mouns, Gabriel, Michael, and Ezekiel Rambo. Daughters Ann and Elcande Rambo; children by present wife Sarah, Gunner, Maudlin, Lydia, and Israel Rambo. Dated Nov. 27, 1745; proved March 9, 1746.

MARGARET RAMBO, of Lower Dublin, widow. Son Elias Rambo. Daughters Mary Rambo, Margaret, wife of Gabriel Nessman, and Christian Rambo. Friends John Vanhorn and Andrew Toy. Dated July 27, 1747; proved Sept. 24, 1747.

BRIDGET RAMBO, of Lower Dublin, widow. Daughters Deborah and Martha Rambo. Son-in-law Isaac Worrell. Grandson Thomas Woodfield. Dated Sept. 8, 1796; proved Feb. 17, 1797.

STEPHEN COLEMAN, of Philadelphia, glover. Wife Sarah. Dated Aug. 15, 1699; proved Aug. 21, 1699.

ELIZABETH MOORE, widow of Robert, late of Philadelphia. Mother Mary Middleton of Ashley, near Gloucester in England. Brothers Thomas and William Gibs. Sisters Hannah, Mary, and Anne. Son William Moore. Dated Aug. 19, 1754; proved Aug. 29, 1754.

PETER RAMBO. Sons Gunner, John, Andrew, and Peter Rambo. Daughters Gertrude, wife of Andrew Bankson, and Catharine, wife of Peter Dalbo. Dated Aug. 3, 1794; proved Nov. 9, 1798.

JOHN RAMBO, of Passyunk, yeoman. Wife Christian. Daughter Mary. Brother Andrew Rambo. Contingent remainder to other brothers and sisters without giving their names. Dated Nov. 23, 1816; proved April 19, 1817.

John Redman, of Philadelphia, M.D. Wife Mary. Daughter Sarah, wife of Daniel Coxe, and her children John Redman Coxe, Leonard Steel Coxe, George Coxe, Edward Plaisted Coxe, and Anne Philadelphia Coxe. Dated Nov. 9, 1807; proved March 24, 1808.

John Ricketts, of Philadelphia, Locksmith. To be buried in Friends' Burying Ground with my mother. Sister Elizabeth Jackson. Uncles Thomas and William Palmer. Friend John Brooks. Dated 9th mo. 6, 1712; proved Dec. 20, 1712.

Adrian Renaudett, of Philadelphia, gentleman. John James and James, sons of deceased nephew James White. Sarah Furman, Townsend White, Jr., Isabella Edgar, and Ann Constable, children of deceased sister Ann White. Brother Peter Renaudett. Sisters Jane Osborn, Elizabeth Beekman, and Mary Chevalier. Nephew Moore Furman, of Trenton, and friend John Duffield. Dated Dec. 10, 1785; proved Jan. 6, 1786.

Pennsylvania Society of Sons of the Revolution.—In April last, this Society was instituted to perpetuate the memory of the men, who, in military, naval, or civil service, by their acts or counsel, achieved American independence; to promote the proper celebration of the anniversaries of Washington's birthday and prominent events relating to or connected with the War of the Revolution; to collect and secure for preservation the manuscript rolls, records, and other documents relating to the War for Independence; and to inspire among the members of the Society and their descendants the public spirit of their forefathers. Its officers are: *President*, William Wayne; *Vice-President*, Richard McCall Cadwalader; *Secretary*, George H. Burgin, M.D.; *Treasurer*, Robert P. Dechert; *Board of Managers*, J. Edward Carpenter, *Chairman;* O. C. Bosbyshell, John W. Jordan, E. Dunbar Lockwood, Samuel W. Pennypacker, Herman Burgin, M.D., J. Granville Leach, Charles Marshall, William Brooke Rawle. A By-Law provides that the Registrar of the Society, if practicable, shall be a member of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

To be eligible for membership, applicants must be descended from an ancestor, who, either as a military or naval officer, soldier, sailor, or as an official or recognized subordinate in the service of any one of the thirteen original Colonies or States, or of the national government representing or composed of these Colonies or States, assisted in establishing American independence during the War of the Revolution.

Early Inhabitants of Philadelphia.—The *Pennsylvania Chronicle* of March 23, 1767, announces:

"On Monday last departed this life in the 87th Year of her Age Mrs Lydia Warder, Widow of the late John Warder of this city. She was born in London in the year 1680, and came over to this Part of the World, then an inhospitable Wilderness, with her father Mr. John Goodson, about the same time the Founder of this Colony arrived in it. They landed near where the city now stands, and were for some time obliged to take up their abode in Wigwams and Caves, there being no other Habitations. Here she spent her long life in such Acts of unaffected Piety and Virtue as reflects the highest credit on her name . . . to alleviate the sufferings of the Poor, Needy and Distressed, to whom she was a constant Friend, and by her Skill in Physic, which she employed without Fee or Reward. . . . On Wednesday following, her Remains were attended by a number of her Fellow Citizens to the Burial Place

of the Quakers, whose principle she professed, and lived and died a worthy Member of their Society."

January 29, 1770: "On Sunday, the 14th of January, died Sarah Meredith, aged 90 Years. She was born in a little Log House, where the City of Philadelphia now stands (her maiden name was Rush) and there lived till she arrived to Woman's State, when she was married David Meredith, and soon after settled in the Great Valley, Chester County, about 28 miles from Philadelphia, then the westernmost settlement in the Province, being six Miles beyond any neighbours, except Indians, who were very numerous, kind and inoffensive . . . She was Mother of 11 Children, Grandmother of 66, and Great Grandmother of 31, in all 108."

Benjamin Franklin's Portrait in the National Portrait-Gallery, London.—From the most admirable catalogue of this collection by George Scharf, F.S.A., Director, Keeper, and Secretary, edition of 1884, perhaps the best work extant on British portraits and little known in this country, I take the following description: "Painted, at Paris, by F. Baricolo, 1783. Description: A corpulent figure, seen to the waist, and turned to the right, wearing a pale blue-grey suit, with buttons of the same colour. A plain white neckcloth, and no collar, encircles his neck, and the white frill of his shirt projects from the opening of his unbuttoned waistcoat. The close-shaven fat face is seen turned in three quarters to the right. The yellow-brown (raw siena) eyes look slightly upwards towards the left. The complexion is fair, and the cheeks clear pink; the lips pale red. His long grey hair hangs down on each side in waving tresses. The scarlet back of a chair is partially seen to the left, and the shadow of the figure is cast on the plain yellow background to the right. The colours of the face are much worn by injudicious cleaning.

"Painted on a twilled canvas.

"On the back of a similar picture, in which the colour of the coat was of a deep crimson, were inscribed the name and date as given above.

"A similar portrait, wearing a loose overcoat trimmed with fur, with the same arrangement of necktie and frill to the shirt, but with the eyes fixed on the spectator, is engraved in Charles Knight's 'Gallery of Portraits,' vol. 3, p. 77. It was painted by J. A. Duplessis, and then belonged to Mr. Barnet, Consul for the United States of America at Paris.

"Purchased by the Trustees, June 1871. (327)

"*Dimensions.* 2ft. 4 ins. by 1 ft. 10½ ins."

Concerning the artist the biographical sketches in the back of this volume state "no particulars known."

William John Potts.

Camden, New Jersey.

Joseph Ceracchi, pupil of Canova, born in 1760 (some authorities say much earlier. This I believe to be the correct date), near Cicognara in Corsica, took an active part in the establishment of the ephemeral republic of that state in 1798, guillotined in Paris, January 30, 1801, on the charge of attempting the life of Bonaparte. A brief notice occurs in Nagler's "Kunstler-Lexicon," Munchen, 1835, and of his son Romoald Ceracchi, giving a list of his foreign works which I do not find in any American biography. Some portrait busts not mentioned in the foregoing are Washington's, Jefferson's, the latter colossal, said to have been very fine, destroyed by fire in 1851; bust of Alexander Hamilton, also said to be very fine, medallion of Madison, besides busts

of Jay, Trumbull, and Governor Clinton, this in clay. "*Twenty-seven models of heads* of eminent Revolutionary characters, for the model for a colossal monument to the American Statesmen and Generals of the Revolution." See Randall's "Life of Thomas Jefferson," Philadelphia. 8vo, 1863, Vol. II., pp. 199, 200, 201, and Appendix, No. XI., pp. 596, 597, which contains an interesting letter of Ceracchi written in English, dated 1792, to General George Clinton, Governor of New York. See also "Portraits of Washington," an essay by H. T. Tuckerman in the Appendix to Irving's Washington Sunnyside edition, New York, 1860, Vol. V. pp. 309 *et seq.*, which contains a few critical remarks on Washington's bust, said to be in the possession of Governor Kemble, now deposited in the Corcoran Gallery at Washington. See also Custis's "Recollections of Washington," New York, 1860.

Philadelphia possesses three busts of white marble said to be by this sculptor. That of Rittenhouse, in the hall of the American Philosophical Society, is much more characteristic of a thoughtful scholar than the more commonly known oil-portrait. It is most dignified in expression, and elegantly finished. That of Alexander Hamilton, in the collection of the Academy of Fine Arts, has the air of a recent work. It is strong and vigorous, more forcible than most of the portraits of Hamilton. That of Franklin, in the same collection, is so inferior in every way to the others, resembling a poor copy of Houdon's busts, that, in the writer's opinion, its authenticity is very doubtful.

Thomas Jefferson, in extracts from his "Financial Diary," published in *Harper's Monthly Magazine*, March, 1885, p. 535, has the following entry, apparently in the first quarter of the year 1791: "Agreed with —— Bohlen to give 300 livres tournois for my bust made by Cerrachi if he shall agree to take that sum."

The Ceracchi mentioned in Kayser's "Bollstandiges Bucher Lexicon" as having translated some papers on art into Italian and German, is evidently the son of the sculptor.

The fullest sketch of Ceracchi occupies about ten octavo pages in Dunlap's "History of the Art of Design in the United States." Most of the above details are supplementary to that work and to the sketch in Elizabeth Bryant Johnston's work on original portraits of Washington.

WILLIAM JOHN POTTS.

Camden, New Jersey.

PAPER MONEY IN THE COLONIES' *Circa*, 1744.—The *London Magazine* for July, 1746, p. 329, publishes "Itinerant Observations in America," which appear to have been written by a young Englishman, author of an "Expedition to St. Augustine, printed for T. Astley in the year 1744." His observations on the Colonial paper money remind one of a similar custom of tearing a bill to pieces and passing the parts to make change which prevailed in Austria about 1862. "There certainly can't be a greater Grievance to a Traveller, from one Colony to another, than the different Values their Paper Money bears, for if he is not studious to get rid of the Money of one Place before he arrives at another, he is sure to be a considerable Loser. The *New England* Money, for Instance, which is excessively bad, and where to pay a Six-pence or Three-pence, they tear a Shilling Bill to Pieces, is much beneath the *New York* Money in Value and will hardly be got off there without some Person is going into the first nam'd Province. *New York* and *Pennsylvania* often differ about the Dignity of their Bills, and they fall and rise in the different circulations they take. The *Maryland* Money is generally pretty good,

but of a low *Value*, and this, again, is not taken on the Western Shore of *Chesapeake*, where only Gold and Silver is current; *North Carolina* is still lower than *Maryland*, and *South Carolina* worst of all; for their Money there is so low as seven for one *Sterling*, so that it makes a prodigious sound; and not only so, but even private Traders there coin Money, if I may use the Expression, and give out small printed or written circulating notes, from Six-pence to a Pound and upwards; in which they are, no Doubt, considerable Gainers, not only by the Currency of so much ready Money, without much Expence in making it, but also by Loss, wearing out or other Accidents. In *Georgia* again this Money never passes, for all their Bills are of *Sterling* Value and will pass all over *America* as well as Bank Notes. There are, I find, some considerable Gains, and Stockjobbing in *America* by the issuing out, and calling in, their new and old Bills, which I shall not think proper to touch upon." W. J. P.

The Susquehanna Papers.—The "Trumbull Papers" in the Massachusetts Historical Society are rich in material bearing upon the discussion of the right of Connecticut to effect a settlement in the valley of the Susquehanna. One volume of the manuscript is exclusively devoted to this subject, and is entitled "The Susquehanna Papers." Besides these papers there are others scattered through the volumes which relate to the subject, and not a few treat of the "Wyoming Massacre" of 1778. Among these is a copy of the articles of capitulation, 4th July, 1778, between Colonel John Butler and Colonel Nathan Denison; report of Colonel Denison of the attack upon the valley; a brief statement by John Jenkins, describing the lamentable condition of the inhabitants; a list of those who were killed in the battle, 3d July, 1778, and who left families, giving the number of children left fatherless; and a letter of Jacob Johnson, late minister at Wilkes-Barre, appealing for aid for the sufferers. The subject is one in which great interest is taken, and a large number of historical students will welcome the publication of anything which will further elucidate the history of the Wyoming Valley.

Obituary Notices, American Weekly Mercury.—Last night died at his house in this city, George Claypoole, Esq; one of our Aldermen.
Tuesday Dec. 22, 1730.

Last Thursday one Joseph Ralph was found drowned at one of our wharves. He was seen fishing there the night before, and by several circumstances it is supposed the net pulled him in.
Tuesday Jan. 19, 1730/1.

Last night died in this city Mr. William Shippen youngest son to Edward Shippen, Esq. deceased, late one of the Commissioners of Property for the Province, a young Gentleman of a considerable fortune.
Tuesday Feb. 2, 1730/1.

We hear from Gloucester, that the Hon. John Hogg, Esq. one of the members of his majesty's Council for the Province of New Jersey, died there suddenly.
Tuesday Feb. 16, 1730/1.

Philadelphia, September the 11th. On Friday last was decently interred in Philadelphia, the body of Richard Hill, Esq. He had his

birth in Maryland, was brought up to the Sea and commanded some good ships in his youth; but afterwards settled in Philadelphia on account of his wife, the relict of John Delaval, and eldest daughter of Thomas Lloyd, Esq. once Governor of Pennsylvania. He was 25 years a member of Council for the Province, had been divers times Speaker of the Assembly, had born several offices of trust, and during the last ten years of his life, was one of the Provincial Judges. His intrepidity and resolution in what he undertook, his sound judgment, his great esteem for an English Constitution and its laws, his tenderness for the liberty of the subject, and his zeal for preserving the order established in his own community, with his great generosity to those he accounted proper objects of it, qualified him for the greatest services in every station he was engaged in, and rendered him valuable to those, who more intimately knew him.

Thursday Sept. 18, 1729.

Heap's Philadelphia.—The original of the following document will be found in "Penn MSS., Official Correspondence," Vol. V. p. 303. The drawing referred to is called "An East Prospect of the city of Philadelphia taken by George Heap from the Jersey shore under direction of Nicholas Skull Surveyor General of the Province of Pennsylvania":

Mr. Lardner,

Having Mr Penns Order to Employ an Artist to take a Perspective of the City of Philadelphia in w^h^ we have met wth Several Disappointments and Mr Heap Having on his own Motion taken the Perspective in Order to go to London to get it Engraved we have agreed wth Mr. Heap that he make the first Offer to Mr Penn in what Manner he wou'd Choose to have it done at his Mr. Penns Expense Paying Mr. Heap to his Satisfaction—or if on Subscription then Mr. Penn to take Fifty we do Desire you to pay to Mr Heap Fifty Pounds and for so doing this shall be your Voucher

Richd Peters
Richd Hockley

30th Novr. 1752

Novr 30 1752
Rec^d^ of Mr. Linford Lardner
Fifty Pounds
Geo Heap.

New Jersey Colonial Uniforms, 1758.—*Pennsylvania Gazette*, June 8, 1758, New York [Letter] June 5.—"A few days ago the New Jersey Forces, of between 11 and 1200 of the likeliest well set Men for the Purpose, as have perhaps turned out on any Campaign, passed by this Place for Albany. They were under Col. Johnston, and all in high spirits: their Uniform blue, faced with red, grey Stockings, and Buckskin Breeches."

W. J. P.

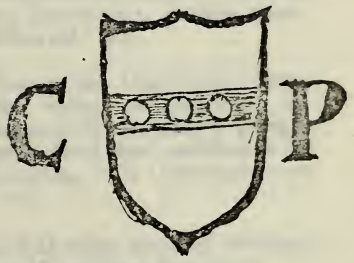
St. Paul's Church.—"We understand that Messrs. Baynton & Wharton have lately presented to St. Paul's Church in this city, a very valuable donation from the generous and beneficent Mr. Richard Neave & Son, Merchants in London, consisting of a complete suit of Hangings & Cushions, for the Pulpit & Communion Table, Reading Desk and Clerk Desk, made of the best Crimson Genoa Velvet, richly adorned with Gold Lace, Fringe, Tassels, and Embroidery valued at Two hundred & Fifty Pounds."—*Penna. Chronicle*, May 4, 1767.

Uniforms in First Battalion Pennsylvania Regiment, 1758. —(See advertisement of Deserters from Capt. Charles Garraway's Company of the first Battalion in the Pennsylvania Regiment. . . .) "N.B.—They all had their Regimentals green faced with Red and Hill and Miller new rifles."—*Penna. Gazette*, June 15, 1758; *Ibid.*, June 22. Three deserters advertised from Capt. William Biles's company of the Pennsylvania Regiment, on the 12th inst., June, 1758, having on green regimental coats. One of these is mentioned as having on "Honey Comb Breeches," the other "black Everlasting Breeches." W. J. P.

Sealer of Measures in 1738.—The *American Weekly Mercury*, May 4–11, 1738, contains the following advertisement:

PUBLICK NOTICE is hereby given,

THAT *Benjamin Morgan* at the *Still* and *Blue Ball* in *King-Street, Philadelphia*, is by the Mayor and Council of the said City, appointed sole keeper of the Standard for Corn Measure, and Sizer and Sealer of Measures, to whom all who want Measures ready Sealed, or have Measures to be rectify'd, may repair, and be well served, he only being duly authorized and qualify'd for that office.



N.B. Above in the Margin is the Seal or Brand to be imprinted in the Bottom of every Measure, and this [B.M.] on the upper Edge.

Daniel Webster and the Secret Service Fund.—In connection with Mr. Dallas's letter of 12th April, 1848 (Penna. Mag., Vol. XI. pp. 458–462), impugning Mr. Webster's integrity as Secretary of State, in disbursing the Secret Service Fund, it appears fair to print the fact that a committee of the House subsequently investigated the charges. Of their report Mr. Lodge (in his "Webster," p. 269) says: "It appeared on investigation that Mr. Webster had been extremely careless in his accounts, and had delayed in making them up and in rendering vouchers, faults to which he was naturally prone; but it also appeared that the money had been properly spent, that the accounts had ultimately been made up, and that there was no evidence of improper use."

Mr. Ingersoll was misled by information furnished by another who, adding some inferences to his knowledge, made an apparent case against Mr. Webster. E. M. P.

Gettysburg, Pa.

Franklin Letters.—In the collection of autograph letters formed by the late Lord Londesborough, sold in June last, were seven of Benjamin, and one of his wife, Deborah Franklin, also four of Gov. William Franklin, all addressed to William Strahan, of London. From three of the latter we take the following extracts:

Burlington, December 18, 1763.—"I have still a perfect Harmony with Everybody in the Province & shall not fail to follow the good Advice you gave to me for that purpose. I trust the King and Queen's Pictures

were finished, as there is no Picture of either of them (except the Prints) yet sent to North America. Please tell Mr. Myers (if it is possible that he has not yet finished the miniatures) that Mrs. Franklin would be glad to have them made a little fatter, as I have encreased considerably in Flesh since I left London. She would likewise be glad to have my Father's Picture from Mr. Chamberlyne's (which I wrote for in my last) & mine from Mr. Wilson's," etc.

Burlington, January 29, 1769.—"As my Income (my necessary Expenses considered) will not allow me to keep even a private secretary or Clerk to copy my Dispatches, I long much to have a Chat with you on our American Affairs, which are really become very critical. But I durst not trust my Sentiments on that Subject to a Letter for fear of Accidents. We wait with Impatience to hear the Results of this Session of Parliament, with respect to America. Your Letters of political Intelligence, which Mr. Hall generally publishes in his Paper, afford me, from time to time, the best Information we receive of what is doing in Parliament, it containing many interesting Particulars, & little Anecdotes, which we have not thro' any other Channel," etc.

New York, December 6, 1781.—"The Bearer, Mr. Christopher Saur, Junior, is a German Printer by Profession. Being a loyal Subject, he was obliged to quit Philadelphia when evacuated by the King's Troops. He is a sensible, intelligent man, has been a good deal confided in at Head Quarters, and often employed in carrying on a Correspondence with the Loyalists in the Rebel Country," etc.

Letter of William Penn, Jr.—The following letter of William Penn, Jr., to William Shiers is copied from "The Storrs Family:"

"5th 12mo 1710.

"Loving Friend,

"My poor, but I hope honest Father being here, and intending over sea, I believe wo'd be glad to have thy helping hand; and unless thou art against it, upon the grounds and reason of it, I desire thee to be sensible of his circumstances and yield him thy filial and friend-like assistance, and I hope it will be acceptable where it will have its reward too. So soon as the Peace is made, as it will quickly be, thousands will follow from almost all the nations of Europe, so great is the property, and so high the taxes and rents too as yet; and the American Coloneys are the Providential reserves for overdone and overprest people, labor being very valuable, and good land exceeding cheap. This with my love in the Truth to thee and thine and frds as free, closes now from thy real frd. W. Penn."

Some Early Settlers of Berks Co., Pa.—Mr. C. F. Hill, of Hazleton, Pa., sends us the following names of some early settlers in Greenwich and Maxatawny townships, Berks County. They are taken from a release of John Philip Faust and Catherine, his wife, for some land owned by them in Greenwich township, to Christoffel Roeth, of Maxatawny. Michael, the father of Christoffel Roeth, took out a warrant for one hundred and fifty acres of land in "Mexadany," 8th September, 1739, said land adjoining that of James Dela Plank. The witnesses present at the signing of the indenture were Conrad Henninger, Henry Christ, and Frederick Dela Plank, all taxables of Maxatawny township in 1759.

An Epitaph.—In the "long ago" (not to be precise) there lived in Dorchester, Mass., a pious old innkeeper, whose house was the favorite resort for members of a certain congregation to drop in on their way to the Sunday morning service. When death summoned him hence his pastor prepared the following epitaph:

"In Faith and Works, his live did well accord;
He served the Public, and he served the Lord."

T. M. A.

Farewell Letter of Sir William Keith.—In my article on Sir William Keith, published in the April number of the Magazine, I introduced a farewell letter by him, dated "Capes of Delaware." No other writer, I believe, has mentioned it. It was through the kindness of Dr. S. Weir Mitchell that I learned of it, using a copy, evidently contemporaneous, in his possession, the only one, as far as I know, in existence. Charles P. Keith.

Letter of Morgan Connor.—The following letter, presented to the Historical Society of Pennsylvania by Louis Richards, Esq., Reading, Pa., was given to him by Mrs. Thomas Potts James, of Cambridge, Mass. Major Connor was an aide of General Washington, and, it would appear, had enjoyed the hospitality of Messrs. Rutter & Potts at Potts Grove.

"Wilmington N. Carolina 28th April 1776

"Dr Sirs.

"I can no longer restrain my impatience of writing to you tho' the expences of postage will be more than the Scroll is worth, but when I consider the many unmerited civilities I've recd at your hands I must in justice to your friendship think you'll chearfully add this to the rest. I can only inform you that I arriv'd here last night in company with Mr. York & Mr. Sykes of Philada, the accommodations for the last five days have been exceeding bad, we lived intirely on Bacon & Eggs. Mr. York thinks he feels the Bristles come out at his back already. I must in justice to the Gentlemen of this province say that when we come to any town or settlement where they are, that we are treated with the utmost politeness & hospitality. I find all the Colonies from Maryland southward ripe for Independence. South Carolina has elected a Governor & Council. This Province is in a poor State of Defence, they are very bad off for Arms & Ammunition. Clinton can effect a Landing here when he pleases and take possession of this town without much opposition, tho' the people are very spirited. I expect to be in Charlestown in four days, the favor of a line from you now and then I shall esteem a great pleasure. I beg my most affecte Compts to Mrs Rutter, Mrs Potts & the children.

"I am Gentlemen with great regard
"Your much obliged
"and very humble Servt
"Morg. Connor.

"N.B. Under is my address Morgan Connor Esq Major of Brigade Charlestown S° Carolina."

Dunlop.—In Penna. Mag. Hist. and Biog., Vol. III., p. 439, fourth line from top, for Dunlap read Dunlop. E. McP.

Gettysburg, Pa.

NARRATIVE OF A JOURNEY DOWN THE OHIO AND MISSISSIPPI IN 1789-90. By MAJOR SAMUEL S. FORMAN, WITH A MEMOIR AND ILLUSTRATIVE NOTES, by LYMAN C. DRAPER. 12mo. 66 pp. Robert Clarke & Co., Cincinnati, 1888. Paper, 50 cents; cloth, 75 cents.

General David Forman, of New Jersey, in 1789 entered into a negotiation with the Spanish minister, Don Diego de Gardoque, for his brother, Ezekiel Forman, of Philadelphia, to emigrate with his family and about sixty colored people, men, women, and children, and settle in the Natches country, then under Spanish authority. Major Samuel S. Forman accompanied this emigrating party at the request of his uncle, and in his narrative gives a minute account of their trip, the places they passed through and at which they stopped, prominent people they met, with many curious particulars. Dr. Draper's annotations add greatly to the narrative.

NORTHUMBERLAND COUNTY LEGAL NEWS.—We have received several numbers of this new "weekly publication, devoted to legal doings in county and State," edited and published by A. N. Brice & Sons, Williamsport, Pa. To the legal profession it will be of particular value and use, for its columns contain the opinions delivered in the several courts of the county, as well as in adjoining counties, legal notices, sales, etc. We note that J. F. Wolfinger, Esq., is contributing "Recollections of the Bar of the Counties of Northumberland, Lycoming, Union, and Columbia, from 1772 to 1840." The *News* is neatly printed on good paper, and will receive the support it so justly deserves.

MORAVIAN REGISTERS, WEST JERSEY.—There has been recently added to the collection of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania copies of the births and baptisms, marriages, deaths and burials, and reception of members of the "Moravian Congregation of Oldman's Creek and vicinity, in West Jersey," 1743-1790. The following are some of the names which appear on the Registers: Adams, Avis, Barber, Briarly, Burden, Cobb, Estlack, Fox, Franklin, Gill, Gracebury, Guest, Hoffman, Holton, Holstein, Izard, Jones, Keen, Kohl, Lautenbach, Lloyd, Linmeyer, Mostlander, Mullica, Noah, Petersen, Salsbury, Shute, Sparks, Smallwood, Stratton, Taylor, Vanneman, Wiseman, and Wood.

Queries.

BENCH AND BAR.—Can any of your readers give me the dates of birth and of death of either of the gentlemen whose names are given below, and where they were born and where they died? I give the date of the admission to the Philadelphia Bar of each one, viz.:

Duncan, Abner F., February 26, 1798.
" John Collins, April 9, 1876.
" Joseph M., October 1, 1825.
" Robert, April 24, 1792.
" Samuel, December term, 1798.
" William F., October 7, 1824.

I would like also the middle name in full, and the title of any judicial or public office held. J. HILL MARTIN.

HUGH HALL.—In his will, dated November 24, 1698, Hugh Hall, of Bridgetown, Barbadoes, bequeathed to his son, Hugh Hall, "a parcell of

Land called Greenfield, which I bought of Jno Edmonson of Maryland, lying and being in Duck creeke in the Province of Pennsylvania containing about twelve hundred acres." To his younger sons, Joseph, Jehu, and Benjamin, "a Parcell of Land call Wappin which I bought of Jno Edmonson of Maryland, Lying and being in Duck Creeke in the province of Pennsylvania, containing about one thousand acres."

In the will of this son above mentioned, dated November 15, 1732, and probated in Bridgetown, Barbadoes, he bequeathed to his son, Hugh Hall, Jr., "now in Boston in New England, Esq & to his heirs forever all that Parcell or Parcells of Land situate and being in Kent County in the Province of Pennsylvania, which was devised me by the will of My Father, or that I may by any other ways or means have a right unto them."

On the back of my copy of the first will of 1698 was written this: "Note. I cannot find the will of this persons Father who is said to have been called *William.*"

On a full register of baptisms, marriages, and burials of Hall, done in Barbadoes from 1652 to 1796, sent me from the records there, I find three names of William Hall, one a young man, the others possibly ancestors of Hugh. On writing thither to the copyist, the reply came back that the previous records are in such a dilapidated state that nothing could be made of them.

Now, one of the Williams was sent out to Barbadoes as a bond-slave in 1635, having been engaged in a rebellion. He was from Chard, Somersetshire, England.

I find, however, that a Hugh Hall and a William Hall were sent over about that time to Virginia, who had been rebels, and were deported,—and, as the name *Hugh* seems to have been a favorite name in the family, or granting that the Virginia bond-slave William may be the right party, and that this "Parcell of Land" may indicate a connection, and that the ancestor may, as so many persons did, have passed over from Virginia to Barbadoes, and, being a merchant, have had dealings with Jno. Edmonson, possibly I may find some clue to guide me in opening the matter to the learned men of your society. "Duck Creeke," Greenfield, Wappin, and Kent County (now in Delaware, originally in the Province of Pennsylvania) must be known to your readers, and it may be that old deeds or transfers may throw light on the rather obscure question. Hugh Hall bought the land, and still he may be spoken of as a resident, or as residing in Barbadoes. If a resident, then I can look to the chance of discovering his father there or in Virginia. Information is earnestly desired.

CHARLES H. HALL.

157 Montague St., Brooklyn, N. Y.

Replies.

V. S.—Address Mrs. Jesse E. Smith, 226 South Twenty-first Street, Philadelphia.

SOUTH WEST VIEW OF BETHLEHEM, PENNA.

THE

PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE

OF

HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY.

VOL. XII. 1888. No. 4.

BETHLEHEM DURING THE REVOLUTION.

EXTRACTS FROM THE DIARIES IN THE MORAVIAN ARCHIVES AT BETHLEHEM, PENNSYLVANIA.

BY JOHN W. JORDAN.

[The following extracts from the diaries of the Moravian congregation at Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, 1775–1782, have been selected for the valuable data they contain relating to the struggle for American Independence. The Rev. John Ettwein, whose name frequently appears, was a distinguished clergyman and the accredited agent of his church in the negotiations with Congress, and with the Assembly, through the troubles arising from the test acts. What the position of that church was during the war, may best be ascertained from their petition to Congress, from which we quote:

"Encouraged by that Act [Act of Parliament, 1749, exempting the Moravians from military service and the taking of oaths in the Colonies], and the glorious liberty in Pennsylvania, most of the Moravians on the Continent came from Germany in full trust and confidence that they and their children would enjoy here liberty of conscience without restraint, and which they enjoyed with thankfulness until the breaking out of the present troubles; since which they have been continually troubled for not associating in the use of arms or acting against their principles in regard to war; some have been made prisoners, and all able bodied of a certain age have been heavily fined, many so that if they had not been

assisted by Charity they would lie in prison. By the operation of the Test Acts some have already suffered imprisonment, and by an Act of Assembly of the 1st of April last, we find ourselves subject to be outlawed and exiled without any enquiry into our behaviour, for which we hold ourselves always accountable to the Magistrates. We hold no principles any way dangerous or inconsistent with good government. We have been tried and sifted enough on that head by the British Parliament, the kings of Prussia and Denmark, the Empress of Russia and others before they granted us the beforementioned and other privileges in their dominions. . . . We willingly help and assist to bear public burdens and never had any distress made for taxes; and we are willing to give all reasonable assurance that we will in no wise act against this or the other United States. We humbly conceive that at altering the government we were entitled to the benefit of these privileges which induced us to come into this land, and we have by no word or acts against the new Government forfeited them. . . . If the laws of Pennsylvania, in regard to the Test, are to be executed upon us, we and our families must be ruined and our creditors wronged, for we cannot take that prescribed oath, it is against our conscience. . . . We have an awful impression of all oaths or affirmations, and cannot say Yes! and think No! or No! and think Yes! We want not to deceive anybody, but will by the help of God act honestly before God and man, not fearing the consequences."]

1775.

April 27.—First heard through the newspapers of bloodshed at Lexington, on the 19th inst.

June 1.—Bro. [John] Bonn,[1] [John Francis] Oberlin,[2] and George Klein[3] went to Jacob Arndt,[4] to inform him of our views about military training and fighting; that although

[1] John Herman Bonn, during the first occupation of the Brethren's house in Bethlehem by the Continental Hospital, was acting steward.

[2] John Francis Oberlin was for nearly twenty years in charge of the church store, which was located on the north side of Market Street, opposite to the graveyard. He was a vehement Tory, and the remark which he once made, "that he had sufficient rope in his store to hang all Congress," rendered his situation so unpleasant, if not precarious, that he was compelled to resign it.

[3] George Klein, from Baden, settled in Warwick Township, Lancaster County, prior to 1740, and took up successive tracts of land until he became the owner of over six hundred acres, which, subsequent to his removal to Bethlehem, in 1755, he conveyed in part to the Moravian Church. On this tract the town of Litiz was laid out.

[4] See PENNA. MAG., Vol. III. p. 99.

we are desirous of the good of the land in which we live, and that we would not *oppose* the current of events, still we cling to the liberty, which as a people of God we enjoyed in all countries, to be freed from actual military service; and that we were willing to bear our share of the burdens of the country.

July 8.—A company of provincials from York passed through on their way to Boston.[1]

July 20.—We kept fast day as ordered by Congress.

July 21.—Three companies of riflemen passed through.

July 24.—This morning a company of riflemen marched through, and in the evening a company of Virginians under Capt. [Daniel] Morgan arrived and encamped for the night. Bro. Ettwein by request preached to them in English.

July 26.—Capt. [Thomas] Price with his company from Maryland arrived.[2]

July 28.—Another company of Virginians marched through early this morning on their way to Boston.

August 10.—A company of provincials from Bedford County passed through.

December 5.—Some English officers and soldiers taken prisoners by General Montgomery at St. John's arrived, and are quartered here.

December 6.—About 200 royal prisoners of war arrived. All those here will leave to-morrow.

1776.

January 30.—Four sleigh loads of the wives and children of the royal prisoners from Canada arrived. We assisted the poor women and children!

January 31.—Toward evening there arrived some 20 wagons filled with soldiers and their baggage, belonging to

[1] They left York for the camp at Cambridge on July 1, 1775, under command of Captain Michael Doudle.

[2] The second company of "expert riflemen," recruited in Frederick County, whose officers were Captain Thomas Price, Lieutenants Otho Holland Williams and John Ross Key.

the Canadian prisoners. We found much trouble to provide for and lodge them.[1]

February 1.—Justice John Okely[2] having secured the teams needed, the prisoners continued on their way.

February 3.—Fifty men, belonging to the same party of prisoners passed through.

February 14.—To-day there arrived a party, mostly French, members of the Canadian militia, who had been taken prisoners.

February 15.—They left for Bristol, where they will be quartered.

April 4.—After dinner a company of riflemen from Lancaster passed through on their way to New York.

May 1.—Pursuant to an Act of Assembly, there was an election held for two additional Assemblymen for this county.

May 6.—Governor John Penn arrived from Allentown, and, owing to the rain, remained over night at the Sun Tavern.[3]

May 7.—Thomas Bartow,[4] wife and five children, arrived from Philadelphia. They will make Bethlehem their home during these troublous times.

May 10.—We heard to-day that in Philadelphia there was a great panic, at the approach of several British men-of-war.[5]

[1] The population of Bethlehem on January 1, 1776, was 564, divided as follows: 140 married couples; 11 widowers; 32 widows; 115 single men and youths; 179 single women and maidens; 81 young children, and 6 clergymen.

[2] John Okely, from Bedford, England, for a number of years was the scrivener and conveyancer of the church, residing in Bethlehem. In 1774 he was commissioned a justice of the peace by Governor John Penn, and, during the Revolution, was an assistant commissary in the Continental service. Withdrew from the Moravians.

[3] The first house of public entertainment erected in Bethlehem. The building was commenced in 1754, but, owing to the Indian war, was not completed until 1758.

[4] Thomas Bartow, a prominent merchant of Philadelphia, was born at Perth Amboy, N.J., 27th January, 1737. On June 23, 1768, he married Sarah, daughter of Daniel and Elizabeth (North) Benezet. His family remained in Bethlehem above three years. He died January 26, 1793.

[5] See Marshall's "Remembrancer," p. 69.

May 17.—We kept Fast and Prayer Day as appointed by Congress.

May 30.—The County Committee met in Easton and declared for Independence.

June 13.—Intelligence came from Philadelphia that New York was expected to be attacked daily, and that the troops from the former city were moving thither.

June 26.—Mr. [Carter] Braxton, a delegate to Congress from Virginia, with wife and daughter, came to see Bethlehem, as also Mr. Hunt from Trenton.[1]

July 4.—From the papers we learned that to-day Congress was resolved to declare the colonies free and independent.

July 8.—We learned to-day that in Philadelphia Independence is to be proclaimed, and in all the counties election for members of the convention was held. In Northampton County there were elected five Germans and three Irish farmers as delegates.

July 10–11.—Twenty army wagons from Canada passed through. From Philadelphia we learned that on Monday Independence was proclaimed from the State House, and that no one but violent partisans of the American cause had been elected to the Provincial Convention.

July 15.—Our team from Hope in the Jerseys arrived, after an uncalled for detention. Passing through Easton, heavily laden with flour, it was suspected of secretly carrying munitions of war, and accordingly the Associators dispatched some of their number in pursuit. The wagon was overtaken a short distance from town, and summarily searched.

July 19.—Yesterday an order was received from the Provincial Brigadier General, that the militia of the county should march to New Brunswick.

July 23.—Col. Kichline came from Easton to collect the remaining fire-arms here. On representing that a place like ours should not be entirely without fire-arms, he without hesitation left a few pieces.

July 29.—Col. George Taylor, now a member of Congress, came by order of the Convention to collect fire-arms.

[1] Abraham Hunt, merchant and postmaster of Trenton, New Jersey.

July 30.—One hundred and twenty recruits from Allentown and vicinity, passed through on their way to the Flying Camp in the Jerseys, to which our County has been called on to contribute 346 men. Every volunteer is entitled to a bounty of £3.

August 4.—At 9 A.M. arrived Capt. Old's company from Reading. The captain asked us to preach to his men, and came with them to the Chapel, where Bro. Ettwein discoursed both in English and German.

August 11.—Capt. Syms, a British prisoner of war, came by permission of Congress to reside here or within a radius of six miles.

August 16.—Four companies of militia from Tulpehocken, with flying colors, drums and fifes, arrived *en route* for the Flying Camp at New Brunswick, and lodged over night at the Sun Tavern.

August 17.—In the afternoon there arrived five companies of Provincials from Lebanon, who were quartered at the Sun Tavern.

August 18.—At the request of their officers, Bro. Ettwein preached to the troops in the Chapel at 10 o'clock A.M.

August 19.—The Lebanon troops left. Yesterday and to-day we heard heavy cannonading, which we learned was at King's Bridge.

August 23.—There lodged here a company from Reading, under Capt. Will, *en route* for the Jerseys. They attended evening service.

August 24.—Mr. [Thomas] Lynch, a Congressman from South Carolina, with wife and daughter visited here.

August 26.—Two companies arrived; one from Oley, under Capt. Daniel de Turk, attended evening service.

August 28.—A company from Reading, under Capt. [George] May[1] arrived.

September 1.—At noon to-day arrived the Fourth Battalion of Berks County militia, Col. Gehr commanding.[2] At 4

[1] George May, grand-uncle of the late George May Keim, of Reading, was captain in the Fourth Battalion of Berks County militia.

[2] Member from Berks County of the Provincial Committee, January 23, 1775; of the Council of Censors, convened at Philadelphia 10th November, 1783; and of the Constitutional Convention of Pennsylvania, 1789–90.

o'clock Bro. Ettwein preached to them in the Chapel, taking for his text Mark x. 17.

September 4.—Several deserters from the army passed through, and stated that in the battle of Long Island, one of the battalions from this county was badly cut up.

September 18.—To-day we received news that the English were in possession of New York City, and that the Provincials had been driven from Ticonderoga. The Lebanon Battalion, Col. Greenwald in command, returned from the Jerseys.

September 22.—A train of wagons passed through early this morning, *en route* for Albany.

October 1.—To-day there was no election for assemblymen.

October 12.—Mr. [Joseph] Galloway, George Taylor, and others, visited here.

November 20.—The fire-arms, which up to this time had been stored at John Okely's, were, on order of Col. [Geo.] Taylor taken to Easton. We learned that Fort Washington had been taken.

November 24.—The news of the capture of Fort Constitution was received.

November 27.—Capt. Syms, who has been here three months, set out for New Brunswick, where he is to be exchanged. We heard that all the royal prisoners at Reading and Lancaster are to march through our town.

November 28.—Another party of officers arrived.

November 30.—From Philadelphia we learned that all were panic-stricken there; that the militia have been ordered to the field,—a part to join Washington's army, as the British are threatening the city.[1]

December 3.—We are notified that the army hospital is to be removed to this place.[2]

[1] See Marshall's "Remembrancer," p. 105.

[2] The commodious buildings common to the larger Moravian settlements, and the situation of the latter, which, while somewhat interior, was not too remote from the line of military operations, were points of importance which the American officers were not slow in appreciating. In addition, the commissary department knew that its wants would be well supplied by an agricultural community who were in possession of large and fertile farms.

EASTON, Decem'r 3d 1776.

GENTN.

You will see by the Letter herewith sent that the General Hospital of the Army is ordered to be at Bethlehem. We therefore request of you that you would be aiding & assisting to Doctr. [Cornelius] Baldwin[1] who waits upon you with this, and who is come for the purpose of procuring suitable accommodations for the sick, to furnish him with such proper accommodations as Bethlehem can afford.

By order of Committee,

ABRAHAM BERLIN,
Chairman.

To the REV. NATH SEIDEL
Bethlehem.

To the Committee of the Town of Bethlehem, or others whom it may Concern:

GENTLEMEN:

According to his Excellency General Washington's Orders, the General Hospital of the Army is removed to Bethlehem, and you will do the greatest act of humanity by immediately providing proper buildings for their reception, the largest and most Capacious will be the most convenient. I doubt not, Gentlemen, but you will act upon this occasion as becomes Men and Christians; Doct'r Baldwin, the Gentleman who waits upon you with this, is sent upon the Business of Providing proper Accommodations for the sick; begging therefore, that you will afford him all possible Assistance, I am, gentlemen,

Your most obedient humble Servant,

JOHN WARREN[2]
Gen'l. Hospit'l. Surg'n and P. T. Direct.

Hanover Gen'l. Hospit'l.
December 1, 1776.

In the evening arrived Drs. Warren and [William] Ship-

[1] See Toner's "Medical Men of the Revolution," p. 117.

[2] The distinguished surgeon, and brother of General Joseph Warren, who was killed at the battle of Bunker Hill.

pen,[1] and we assured them that we would do all we could for them.

December 4.—Several buildings were cleared for hospital purposes. Dr. Shippen and Surgeon John Warren were so pleased with our willingness that they made arrangements to have the greater part of the sick quartered in Easton and Allentown. They informed us, that the hospital at Morristown, from whence they came, contained one thousand patients; of these five hundred will be quartered in the Forks,—about one hundred and fifty in Bethlehem.

Many officers and soldiers from Ticonderoga passed through. In Philadelphia confusion reigns; all places of business are closed, persons capable of bearing arms are compelled to take the field, blankets, shoes, &c., are given to the soldiers, on penalty of being confiscated.[2]

December 5.—A day of unrest at Bethlehem! The soldiers from Ticonderoga impressed wagons and left for Philadelphia. Many wagons with sick from the Jerseys reached here to-day. Col. [Isaac] Reed,[3] from Virginia, arrived lame and sick. He had sent his surgeon on ahead to engage private lodgings.

December 6.—Capt. Forest, a gentleman from Boston, who tarried here a few days as a prisoner, set out for New Brunswick.

The sick were brought here to-day in crowds. Their sufferings and lack of proper care made them a pitiable spectacle to behold, and had we not supplied them with food, many would have perished,—for their supplies did not arrive for three days.

December 7.—Two of the sick died to-day. A burying place for the dead of the Hospital was selected across the Monocacy creek.[4]

[1] See Penna. Mag., Vol. I. p. 109.

[2] See Marshall's "Remembrancer," p. 106.

[3] Colonel of the Fourth Virginia Regiment.

[4] This was located on the hill, west of what is now called Monocacy Avenue, in West Bethlehem. In digging the cellars of new buildings in that section of the borough, portions of coffins and human bones have been unearthed.

December 8.—Two dwellings were hurriedly cleared, to make more room for the sick coming from Trenton. A detachment of these arrived after dinner, and remained on the other side of the river, where two died.

December 9.—Frederick Beitel,[1] who had taken several officers (prisoners of war) to the army, returned from New Brunswick with the news that on the 7th inst., the British army had broken camp and set out for Philadelphia.

December 10.—Bro. Ettwein for the first time visited the sick in their wards.

December 12.—Dr. Shippen's, Joseph Dean's,[2] and many other families are coming here, fleeing from the impending storm.

December 13.—Bethlehem was never so full of strangers as now, endeavoring to find a place of safety. Among the number are: [Philip] Livingston, delegate to Congress, Dr. Reed, and others from New York; [William] Floyd, [Elias] Boudinot, Drs. [William] Burnet[3] and Jacob Ogden from Newark in the Jerseys. The latter paid £18 hire for a farmer's wagon from Philadelphia.

December 15.—Dr. [Isaac] Foster,[4] a New Englander, asked us for lodgings for his wife, as he must repair to the army. We gave her a room. Mr. [William] Livingston, the new Governor of New Jersey, and Gen'l. [Horatio] Gates, arrived this evening. An order came from Easton to impress our flat-boat,[5] and take it to that place, to assist in transporting Gen. [Charles] Lee's division of one thousand men across the Delaware. We learned that Lee had been taken prisoner twenty miles from Hope.

[1] He was "wagon-master" for the congregation, and his name will frequently appear in the diary in that capacity.

[2] Joseph Dean, a merchant of Philadelphia, and a member of the Committee of Safety and Board of War.

[3] See Penna. Mag., Vol. III. p. 308.

[4] Elected by Congress, in April of 1777, Deputy Director-General of the Hospitals for the Eastern District.

[5] The ferry across the Lehigh, located but a short distance above the present railroad bridge, was opened in 1743. The first bridge was built in 1794.

December 16.—This afternoon Gen. Lord Stirling arrived with dispatches from Gen. Washington for Gen. Gates.

December 17.—Gen. Gates with his officers visited our larger buildings. About noon we heard that several thousand New Englanders, under Gen. Sullivan,[1] would reach here to-day, and that we should bake bread for them. As the hospital is here, and as all possible room is engaged by the soldiers who came from Albany, Gen. Gates sent his Adjutant, Col. [Walter] Stewart to meet the New Englanders, and order them to cross between here and Easton, and encamp in Saucon. Nevertheless, towards evening, some three or four thousand men arrived and went into camp. As the night was cold, our fences on both sides of the river suffered. Gen. Gates set a guard (from his body-guard) at each door of the Sisters' House, until the soldiers withdrew. The New England officers politely asked for quarters and most of the houses took some in. In the Congregation House, ten or twelve of the higher officers were lodged; and in the town between five and six hundred men. In the Sun Tavern were Gens. Gates, Sullivan, Stirling, Arnold, Glover, and many other officers of rank. At dusk Gen. Sullivan accompanied by thirty officers came to attend our meeting, which, owing to the confusion in town, was dropped. They were taken into the Chapel to hear the organ, and were pleased with the music. We were told that Bethlehem has been represented to the army as a nest of Tories, and that Gen. Lee had said, "that in a few hours he would make an end of Bethlehem."

December 18.—Gen. Sullivan's troops moved off, and later more troops arrived *via* Nazareth.

December 19.—Gen. Gates and his troops left to-day. He invited us to make a settlement on the Ohio river, in Virginia.

December 20.—More troops arrived this evening from Albany *via* Nazareth, and were lodged over night. James Allen[2] was taken from his house at Allentown and carried

[1] See PENNA. MAG., Vol. II. p. 196.

[2] A son of Chief-Justice William Allen. See PENNA. MAG., Vol. I. p. 211.

to Philadelphia, charged with having sought to dissuade the militia from taking the field.

December 22.—Five deaths were reported in the Hospital to-day. Bro. Ettwein, who visits the sick once or twice a week, had very attentive listeners to-day (Sunday) in the five wards.

December 24.—At the Vigils of Christmas Eve were present all the Doctors and Surgeons of the Hospital.

December 25.—This evening Dr. Shippen with a majority of the surgeons left for the Army, having been summoned by a courier.[1]

December 31.—As many strangers desired to be present at our Night Watch Meeting, we closed the year at 11.30 P.M., Bishop Seidel officiating.

1777.

January 1.—Bro. Ettwein made his rounds through the Hospital, and wished the sufferers God's blessing on the opening of the New Year.

January 3.—During the forenoon we heard long-continued cannonading,—(which later was ascertained to have been at Princeton.)

January 8.—Dr. [John] Morgan and surgeons received orders to repair to the army in New England.

January 10.—There was a rumor to-day that it had been decided to transfer the County records to Christian's Spring.[2]

January 14–16.—Capt. [John] Hays' [Jr.][3] company of

[1] To participate in the movements with the army in New Jersey.

[2] This Moravian settlement for young men was commenced in 1747, and was the westernmost, and third in point of date, of the five settlements on the Barony of Nazareth,—sixteen hundred acres being appropriated for the purpose. In the summer of 1777, one hundred and twenty men of Colonels Bland's and White's Virginia cavalry, who were quartered there for some weeks, fed their horses on the new wheat of the recent harvest, a species of contribution to which the Moravians were more than occasionally subjected.

[3] John Hays, Jr, was born in Ireland, and when two years of age immigrated with his parents to Pennsylvania. He died while on a journey to Pittsburg, November 3, 1796. His company was enlisted in the Craig settlement, in Allen Township, Northampton County, and was one

militia passed through on their return from Trenton. They were the first in this county last December to take the field. Mr. Rosbrugh,[1] a Presbyterian clergyman, stationed in the Irish Settlement,[2] in our vicinity, had taken a zealous part in the organization of the company, and even submitted his name among the lots to be drawn. The lot falling to him, he shouldered a private's rifle and repaired to Trenton, where he alone of the company was left dead on the field.

January 25.—Messrs. John Adams, [James] Lovell, and [Lyman] Hall, delegates to Congress, arrived here on their way to Baltimore. [They left the next day.]

January 28.—Mr. [George] Walton, delegate to Congress from Georgia, who has been appointed to meet the Indians in treaty at Easton, stopped on his way to see our town. Bro. Leinbach returned from Philadelphia, where he had with difficulty purchased one bushel of salt for $8.

January 29.—To-day expires the term of sixty days, fixed in Lord Howe's proclamation for the submission of the Colonies.

February 6–7.—The 300 men from Ticonderoga we have quartered in the workshops and private houses generally, as the Brethren's House could only accommodate 90.

February 9.—Bro. John Bonn returned from Philadelphia with 50 bushels of salt, @ $4. per bush., which he obtained through the mediation of Dr. Shippen.

February 10.—During the past week, we learned of threats made on the part of some militia in the vicinity of Allentown, against us and our town; that they intended to search the houses, seize all blankets, and compel our young men to march to the field with them. The soldiers and the officers at present quartered here have resolved to protect us, and will remain until the militia have passed through to camp.

of the first to take the field from that county. They were on their way home, to go into winter-quarters.

[1] See "Rosbrugh, a Tale of the Revolution; or, The Life, Labor, and Death of Rev. John Rosbrugh," by Rev. J. C. Clyde.

[2] There were three settlements made by the Scotch-Irish within the present limits of Northampton County. The one to which the diarist refers was commenced in 1730, near Weaversville, in Allen Township.

Joseph Dean, of the Committee of Safety, remained here on account of the threatened disturbance.

February 13.—The first four companies of the Allentown militia passed through in quiet. In Easton they entered the houses in squads of ten and twelve, and took blankets and coverlets from the beds. Mr. Dean was sent for by an Express, and compelled them to desist and return the stolen property.

February 14.—The soldiers from Ticonderoga left to-day.

February 15.—Five additional companies of militia passed through. Col. Geiger, a farmer, who had been a soldier in Germany, came in advance. Mr. Dean ordered him to lead his men through without halting. Col. Reed, who is lying sick here, stationed as guards some of the convalescents at the Sisters' and Brethren's Houses and at the Store. As a Colonel in the Continental army, Reed ranks Geiger.

February 19.—Joseph Dean and his wife left for Philadelphia.

February 23.—To-day there unexpectedly arrived a party of soldiers from Albany.

February 24.—Sixteen wagons with Continental stores, consisting of ammunition, wine and rum, arrived from Morristown.

February 26.—Additional Continental stores reached here. As the small-pox has been brought to town by the soldiers, and as forty of them have been inoculated, thirty of our children were treated likewise.

March 1.—A rumor reached here that Congress had made proposals of peace to England.

March 9.—Towards evening arrived 30 Canadian officers on their way home, who had been prisoners of war at Reading one year.

March 11.—Brig. Gen. [John] Armstrong arrived *en route* for the army.

March 14.—Dr. [Jonathan] Potts[1] with some surgeons

[1] Dr. Potts was appointed Director of the Hospitals for the Northern Department of the army in January of 1777. His letter book is in the library of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

and several wagons loaded with medicines and baggage, passed through *en route* for Albany. Dr. [James] Houston,[1] the most skilful and attentive of the surgeons in the Hospital here, pursuant to orders, set out for the army in the Jerseys.

March 24.—Early this morning, Dr. Shippen's infant son William died, and, at the request of the parents, was buried in our grave-yard.[2] The mother, who has been sojourning in our midst almost four months, will leave on the 29th.

March 27.—The Hospital has been transferred to Philadelphia, so our buildings were cleared, except a few soldiers, —30 left for the army.

April 3.—Fast and Prayer Day in the State. Brig. Gen. [M. A. R.] de Fermoy,[3] with several American officers on their way to Albany, visited our public buildings; also one English, one Scotch, and two Waldecker officers, prisoners of war on parole, *en route* for Maryland.

April 7.—Gen. Horatio Gates and staff arrived this evening.

April 11.—Gen. Gates and staff set out for Ticonderoga, where he is to assume command. At his request Bro. Ettwein accompanied the party to Christian's Spring and Nazareth, and as far as the plains beyond Schoeneck.[4]

April 29.—Mr. [Richard] Stockton, of Princeton, who had come here to buy household utensils (his house had been plundered by royalists), returned home.

May 9.—Col. [Allen] McLane, with a troop of horse, reached here from Philadelphia, expecting to find Lady Washington, who he was to escort hence. She had, how-

[1] See Toner's "Medical Men of the Revolution," p. 122.

[2] Register of Bethlehem Congregation, No. 444, "William Arthur Lee Shippen, born September 27, 1776, in Philadelphia; died March 24, 1777, at Bethlehem."

[3] Matthias Alexis Roche de Fermoy, French engineer, was commissioned, November 4, 1774, brigadier-general by Congress. He returned to France in January of 1778.

[4] Schoeneck,—*i.e.*, *Pretty Corner*,—half a mile north of Nazareth, on the road to the Minisinks, over which General Gates was travelling.

ever, struck off on the Durham road, and thus missed Bethlehem.

May 12.—Bro. Ettwein called on [Robert Lettis] Hooper [Jr.], general quartermaster for this county, from whom he learned that Bethlehem was designed to be made one of the principal points at which the Continental army was to be massed, should it be repulsed by the English.

May 13.—Col. [Abraham] Labar[1] and Jacob Shoemaker,[2] two of the Commissioners, came from Easton to collect blankets for the army. This county was assigned a quota of 167 blankets; they got 27 here, about one-sixth of the number wanted.

May 24.—Gen. Joseph Reed arrived to-day.

May 29.—Gen. Schuyler, with part of his staff, *en route* to Albany, stopped and requested to be shown through the public buildings. Gen. Reed accompanied the party. Col. Isaac Reed was very low to-day.

May 31.—Capt. [Thomas] Webb, the Methodist preacher, with his family of seven persons, arrived from Philadelphia. He is a prisoner on parole, with permission to reside here or within six miles of the town until exchanged. Lodgings were given them.

June 4.—An express from Easton came to demand six wagons from this town and Nazareth, for the transportation of prisoners to the army.

June 16.—Sir Patrick Houston[3] and his brother, a physician from Georgia, stopped here on their way to New England.

June 20.—William Ellery, of Newport, and William Whipple, of New Hampshire, delegates to Congress, visited our town to-day, and on leaving expressed themselves delighted with it.

June 22 (Sunday).—Bro. Ettwein preached in English this morning; three members of Congress with their wives were

[1] In command of the guard of the ferry at Easton.

[2] He was appointed sub-lieutenant for Northampton County, March 21, 1777.

[3] See Sabine's "Loyalists of the American Revolution," Vol. I. p. 545.

present. At noon Col. Isaac Reed, of Virginia, who since December 5th last has lain sick here, set out for Philadelphia. He was conveyed in a sedan-chair, with two horses, and eighteen of our Brethren carried him down to the Lehigh. Two of them, with his physician Dr. [Alexander] Skinner[1] and Paymaster Sutton, accompany him.

June 25.—Late this evening Gen. [Thomas] Mifflin arrived. We were astonished to hear that he had left orders with Quartermaster Hooper, to station a special guard of seven men for the protection of the Continental stores, and to apprehend deserters.

July 11.—Bro. Ettwein received a letter from Gen. Gates, who is in Philadelphia, concerning a tract of land in Fincastle County, Virginia, which he wishes to sell to our Brethren in North Carolina for a settlement.

July 21.—John Duffield,[2] a surgeon, who has lain ill at the house of William Boehler,[3] left for Philadelphia. He was the last of the sick attached to the Hospital here.

July 25.—Unexpected news reached us that the Continental Army was marching to this neighborhood, and from here and other places on the river, boats were taken to Easton, and many wagons impressed.

July 28.—Learned that the army was moving lower down the Delaware, and would not cross at Easton.

August 4.—George Kribel,[4] a Schwenkfelder, was taken to Easton jail, because he refused to abjure the King. From this county 200 wagons went to Philadelphia, to assist in the removal of families. The militia from all sections are on the march.

August 12.—The teams which had been impressed in this neighborhood (among the number four of ours), returned from Philadelphia. We heard that about 3000 wagons had been collected there, for the removal of the women and children.

[1] Surgeon of "Light-Horse Harry Lee's" legion of cavalry. See Toner's "Medical Men of the Revolution," pp. 50 and 127.

[2] See Toner's "Medical Men of the Revolution," pp. 112 and 120.

[3] This building is still standing on Market east of Main Street.

[4] He was one of their preachers, and a man of eminent talents and virtues, and was released after being in custody but a short time.

The alarm was occasioned by the strategy of the British, who had sent their fleet to the Capes of the Delaware, in order to draw the Continental army to Philadelphia, and harass it by much marching.[1] Consequently all the wagons were returned empty and the inhabitants of the city remained undisturbed. We paid for a lot of salt, $22 per bushel.

August 14.—Mrs. Cochran,[2] a sister of Gen. Schuyler, came with her family from Esopus, anxious to procure lodgings, proposing to remain several months. Such applications are frequent.

August 23.—Gens. Greene and Knox, with some officers visited our town to-day, but were summoned by an express to return to camp without delay, as the British had effected a landing in the Chesapeake.

August 24.—Bro. Beitel who had hauled Dr. Skinner's baggage and some army stores to camp, returned. We heard that Col. Isaac Reed, of the Fourth Virginia Battalion, who had lain here sick for so long a time, died, and was buried on the 21st inst. in Philadelphia.

August 26.—To-day there arrived 20 British officers, prisoners of war, on their way from Reading to Easton, who were shown through our large buildings.

August 31.—Bro. Beitel went with his wagon to Easton, to convey several British officers from thence to New York.

September 2.—Before daylight this morning an express from Reading brought the unwelcome intelligence that, pursuant to an order from the Board of War, 260 British prisoners, under a strong guard, would be conveyed hither for safe keeping. Towards evening Quartermaster Hooper, the Sheriff [John Jennings], and two of the county lieutenants arrived from Easton.

September 3.—Bro. Ettwein accompanied the officers while inspecting the buildings, with a view of selecting one for the accommodation of the prisoners. The large "Family-House"[3] on "the Square" in the centre of the town was

[1] See Marshall's "Remembrancer," p. 121.

[2] See PENNA. MAG., Vol. III. p. 243.

[3] On its site is erected the Moravian publication office.

finally selected. Against this we protested, and as our objections were ineffectual, it was resolved to lay our grievances in writing before the Board of War. This was done at once and sent off by an express.

September 6.—Our express returned to-day with the following letter from Secretary Richard Peters:

WAR OFFICE, September 5, 1777.

GENTLEMEN:—

The Board have received a representation from you in behalf of the inhabitants of Bethlehem. They are extremely sorry that any inconvenience should arise from the execution of an order of theirs relative to the prisoners to be stationed at Bethlehem. But the necessity of the case requires the measure, & the good people of your town must endeavor to reconcile the matter as well as they can. If the guards or persons employed deport themselves improperly, any grievance the inhabitants complain of on this account will be immediately redressed; & as soon as circumstances will admit, the prisoners will be removed.

RICHARD PETERS, *Secretary.*

Accordingly the "Family-House" was cleared for the prisoners, and the water works[1] house for the guard. The present inmates were thus disposed of: Schweinitz and family[2] moved to the Gemein Haus; Bartow's went to Oberlin's store; Capt. Webb to William Boehler's house, and old Mr. Bartow to Timothy Horsfield's.[3] Quarter Master Hooper detained the prisoners at Allentown until the houses were cleared.

September 7 (Sunday).—At noon arrived 218 British prisoners, about one half Highlanders,[4] under a guard of over 100 soldiers, and were quartered in the houses prepared for

[1] See "Historical Sketch of the Bethlehem Water-Works," Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, by Robert Rau.

[2] Hans Christian Alexander von Schweinitz, administrator of the American estates of the Moravian Church, 1770–97, and the father of Lewis D. von Schweinitz, the distinguished botanist.

[3] Horsfield's house adjoined Oberlin's store, on Market Street.

[4] Probably some of Donald McDonald's men from North Carolina.

them. A scene of confusion ensued between the Brethren's House and the Sun Tavern. Heard heavy cannonading towards the southwest.

September 13.—This evening we heard that Gen. Washington and his army had been compelled to fall back on Philadelphia.

September 14 (Sunday).—The British officers with their guard attended English preaching in the morning, and in the afternoon Capt. Webb preached to the soldiers in their yard.

September 16.—Baron de Kalb and three French officers came to visit our town. John Okely received a letter from David Rittenhouse, that on Gen. Washington's order the military stores were to be removed hither; and simultaneously with the letter there came 36 laden wagons from French Creek. We represented that Bethlehem was no fit place for storing supplies, especially as there were so many prisoners here, but all in vain. The wagons were unloaded near the tile-kilns,[1] and a guard of 40 men placed.

September 17.—At 5 P.M. arrived 38 wagons with Continental stores.

September 18.—A company of Philadelphia militia arrived from Easton, whither they had escorted prisoners, having with them eight Tories from New Jersey, chained two and two, who were put among the other prisoners. During the entire day wagons laden with military stores were arriving. The square in front of the Brethren's House was a scene of wild confusion. A number of the guards recklessly fired off their rifles in town; one of the bullets whistling past Bro. Seidel's head, who chanced to be in the garden behind the Brethren's House, and a second ploughing up the ground just before him. As Bro. Ettwein was passing up the street, he was ordered back by the guard, stationed at the prisoners' quarters. A report was current that the army is on its way hither.

September 19.—Nine army wagons arrived to-day. Those that were laden with sulphur, powder, and cartridges, were

[1] The locality of these kilns is yet pointed out on the Monocacy Creek, half a mile northwest of Bethlehem.

unloaded at the Flax Seed House,[1] and those with provisions and Rum, at the old dyer's house.[2] At evening we received, through Dr. [Hall] Jackson,[3] the following notice from the Director General of the Continental Hospital:

My d'r Sir:

It gives me pain to be obliged by order of Congress to send my sick & wounded Soldiers to your peaceable village—but so it is. Your large buildings must be appropriated to their use. We will want room for 2000 at Bethlehem, Easton, Northampton, &c., & you may expect them on Saturday or Sunday. I send Dr. Jackson before them that you may have time to order your affairs in the best manner. These are dreadful times, consequences of unnatural wars. I am truly concerned for your Society and wish sincerely this stroke could be averted, but 'tis impossible. I beg Mr. Hasse's assistance—love and compliments to all friends from my d'r Sir,

Your affectionate
humble serv't,
W. Shippen,

Trenton, Sep. 18, 1777. *D. G.*

Seeing ourselves under the necessity of relieving the distress of the country, we gave orders for the vacation of the Single Brethren's House,[4] and its inmates to be distributed in Nazareth, and the adjacent settlements of Christian's Spring and Gnadenthal.[5]

[1] In the present water-works building, built 1765–66. It was originally a combination of mills, there being works for grinding flaxseed and pressing oil, for hulling barley, spelt, and millet, for splitting peas, for stamping and rubbing hemp, for grinding oat- and buckwheat-meal and bark for the tannery. A snuff-mill was subsequently inserted.

[2] Still standing to the west of Luckenbach's mill, on Water Street.

[3] See "American Medical Biography," p. 311.

[4] The large stone centre building—with its double hip-roof and belvedere—of the seminary for young ladies, facing Main Street, and what the diarist calls "the Square," was the principal building used at two different times for hospital purposes during the war for independence. It was originally erected for the use of the single men of the congregation, in 1747–48.

[5] Gnadenthal—*i.e., Vale of Grace*—was located one mile west of

September 20.—The Brethren's House was vacated. Dr. [William] Brown[1] arrived and inspected the house. Late in the evening came Col. [Richard Henry] Lee and [Benjamin] Harrison, from Virginia; [Cornelius] Harnett from North Carolina; and [William] Duer, all Delegates to Congress, who had fled from Philadelphia in consequence of the success of the British arms.

September 21 (Sunday).—Our friend and protector Henry Laurens,[2] of South Carolina, with many other notables arrived. They attended our English service. Towards evening the sick and wounded from Bristol began to arrive, and the influx of strangers became greater, so that the Sun Tavern could not hold them. Among others arrived Gen. [William] Woodford,[3] Col. Armstrong, and the young Marquis de La Fayette,[4] with a suite of French officers. The last named gentleman had been disabled by a wound received in the Battle of the Brandywine, and has come here for medical treatment.

Nazareth. In 1837 the farm was sold to the commissioners of Northampton County, who subsequently erected the county poor-house on the site.

[1] See Toner's "Medical Men of the Revolution," p. 81.

[2] In 1760, while John Ettwein was in the South looking after the interests of his church, he became acquainted with Henry Laurens, and was a frequent guest at his house, near Charleston, South Carolina. This acquaintance ripened into a warm friendship, which death alone severed. Throughout the negotiations between the government and the Moravians regarding the Test Act, Laurens was the adviser of his friend. Henry Laurens's "Letter Book," in the library of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, contains numerous letters to Mr. Ettwein.

[3] In 1775 he was appointed colonel of the Second Virginia Regiment, and in the battle of Brandywine was commanding the First Virginia Brigade when wounded.

[4] La Fayette was first given quarters in the Sun Tavern, but his nurses, Mrs. Barbara Boeckel and her daughter Liesel, found them so inconvenient that he was removed to their house and given two rooms. The house of George Frederick Boeckel was located on the east side of Main Street, and was the first house south of the Sun Tavern at the date of this diary. On its site stands the confectionery store of A. H. Rauch & Son, No. 42 Main Street.

(To be concluded.)

A NARRATIVE OF THE TRANSACTIONS, IMPRISONMENT, AND SUFFERINGS OF JOHN CONNOLLY, AN AMERICAN LOYALIST AND LIEUT.-COL. IN HIS MAJESTY'S SERVICE.

(Continued from page 324.)

It was evident, on consulting with Lord Dunmore, and informing him of the plan I had concerted, and the confederacy I had formed, that when his Lordship was reinforced with supplies from Britain, a co-operative body of troops from Canada, and the western frontiers of Virginia, with Indian auxiliaries, would be ready to act at the time that Sir William Howe would draw their principal attention to the northward. This would not only be productive of the restitution of the royal authority of this colony, but have a general tendency to promote the success of his Majesty's arms, and the like happy effects universally. His Lordship therefore dispatched me to General Gage at Boston, to lay before his Excellency the projected scheme, and to desire his concurrence and co-operation. But as Lord Dunmore had promised the Indian Chiefs, when in their country, that he would certainly meet them in person the ensuing spring, at Fort Pitt, finally to adjust all differences; and as the rebellion had rendered it impossible to keep his promise, he was solicitous to transmit an apology to a Chief of the Delawares, intimating in some measure the cause of this disappointment. This speech his Lordship gave to my charge, and desired me to transmit to a Mr. Gibson, of Pittsburgh, that he might interpret it to the Chief. I had reason to suspect Lord Dunmore reposed too much confidence in this Gentleman, but as he had lately been with his Lordship on business, and as his Lordship seemed persuaded he was worthy of being trusted, I gave up suspicions that afterwards appeared to be but too well founded. Ideas of

former intimacy and juvenile friendship arose in my mind, for we had been long acquainted, and I felt an anxiety to preserve him from measures, which I deemed destructive to both his interest and honour. When therefore I sent him the speech, I likewise enclosed the following letter:

PORTSMOUTH, Aug. 9, 1775.

DEAR SIR.

I am safely arrived here, and am happy, to the greatest degree, in having so fortunately escaped the narrow inspection of my enemies, the enemies to their country, to good order, and to government. I should esteem myself defective in point of friendship towards you, should I neglect to caution you to avoid an over zealous exertion of what is now ridiculously called patriotic spirit: but, on the contrary, to deport yourself with that moderation for which you have always been remarkable, and which must, in this instance, tend to your honour and advantage.

You may be assured from me, Sir, that nothing but the greatest unanimity now prevails at home; that the innovating spirit amongst us here is looked upon as ungenerous and undutiful; that the utmost exertions of the powers of government, if necessary, will be used to convince the infatuated people of their folly. I could, I assure you, Sir, give you such convincing proofs of what I assert, and from which every reasonable person may conclude the effects, that nothing but madness could operate upon a man so far as to overlook his duty to the present constitution, and to form unwarrantable associations with enthusiasts, whose ill-timed folly must draw upon them inevitable destruction. His Lordship desires you to present his hand to Capt. White-Eyes, and to assure him that he is very sorry he had not the pleasure of seeing him at the treaty, or that the situation of affairs prevented him from coming down. Believe me, dear Sir, that I have no motive in writing my sentiments thus to you, farther than to endeavour to steer you clear of the misfortunes which I am confident must involve, but unhappily, too many.

I have sent you an address from the People of Great-Britain to the People of America; and I desire you to consider it attentively, which will, I flatter myself, convince you of the idleness of many declamations, and of the absurdity of an intended slavery. Give my love to George, and tell him he shall hear from me, and I hope to his advantage. Interpret the inclosed speech to Capt. White-Eyes from his Lordship; be prevailed upon to shun the popular error, and judge for yourself; act as a good subject, and expect the rewards due to your services.

I am, dear Sir,

Your sincere friend and servant,

JOHN CONNOLLY.

To JOHN GIBSON, ESQUIRE,
near Fort Dunmore.

To a mind impressed with the slightest sense of rectitude, and that has ever once conceived the meaning of the word honour, it seems impossible that any man can be base enough to betray a private confidential correspondence, more especially where the intention was indisputably benevolent and friendly. This dishonourable act, however, was Mr. Gibson's: he laid my letter before the county committee, to which I am to attribute my succeeding misfortunes, and a five years' captivity. Many other letters of mine were sent, at the same time, and by the same conveyance, to persons who afterwards accepted offices of high trust under the Republican government; yet none, either then or since, ever divulged my opinions. This gentleman, for his treacherous display of patriotism, was honoured with a consequential military command; and I have frequently had the mortification to see him enjoy the warm sun-shine of freedom and favour, from the window of an inhospitable prison. But to return.

It was agreed that I should go to Boston, for which voyage a small schooner was provided and manned from the Otter Sloop, and I set out for head quarters, charged with Lord Dunmore's dispatches to the commander in chief, where I arrived after a voyage of ten days.

Secret and expeditious as I had hitherto been, my arrival at Boston was soon known to General Washington. The inhabitants, by permission, were daily going in and out of town; and some of them had so far corrupted my servant, as to obtain from him such intelligence as he could give. He was an Englishman, had lived with Lord Dunmore, and had acquaintance in General Washington's family, to whom, some short time after, he eloped, where he reported a strange mixture of truth and falsehood, relative to my past proceedings and future intentions.

When my propositions were laid before General Gage, [as] he was well acquainted with American affairs, and saw the advantages that were likely to result from their being put in execution: they met, therefore, with his entire approbation. But as General Arnold (then in the American service) had already began an expedition against Canada by the Kennebec River, and other obstacles intervened, I could not immediately proceed to Quebec, as was at first intended, so it was thought most expedient I should return to Virginia, taking with me his Excellency's instructions to the officers commanding at Illinois and Detroit, as well as to the deputy superintendent of Indian affairs.

After experiencing several of those tedious delays always inseparable from sea voyages, and calling on board the Asia, lying at New York, agreeable to the directions of Lord Dunmore, to enquire for dispatches from England, I arrived once more at Portsmouth, and rejoined his Lordship on the 12th of October. A short fit of sickness, occasioned by excessive fatigue and anxiety, for I had travelled this year upwards of four thousand miles, and always upon affairs that lay heavy on the mind, held me in a suspense that, while it lasted, made illness doubly irksome. As soon, however, as I was able, I consulted with his Lordship upon my plan and future proceedings; and on the 5th of November, 1775, a commission of Lieutenant-Colonel Commandant under his Lordship's sign manual, as his Majesty's representative, was given me, with full power and authority to raise a battalion of men, and as many independent companies as I could.

The deputy superintendent of Indian affairs was directed to make such expences in that department, as I might judge requisite for his Majesty's service; and the officer commanding a detachment of the eighteenth regiment at the Illinois, was ordered to join me at Detroit, by the Onabache communication. The commanding officer at Detroit, likewise, was desired to give every encouragement to the Canadians of his district, to embody themselves for the expedition under my orders; and every other matter was so arranged, as to give the fairest prospect of success. These dispositions were made conformable to appearances and probabilities. Early the next spring, we had the strongest reason to hope, that a formidable body of British troops would take the field; that the combined force of the enemy must be drawn to the northward, and that I should have an opportunity of marching from Pittsburgh, with the detachment of the eighteenth regiment, the new-raised corps, the Indian auxiliaries, so as to form a junction with Lord Dunmore at Alexandria. By this means the communication between the southern and northern governments would have been interrupted, and a favourable turn indisputably given to his Majesty's affairs in the southern Provinces.

To put these designs into action, the service required I should first go to Detroit, to gain which there were several routes. But as this garrison lay at least seven hundred miles distant in the straightest possible direction, and as the circuitous roads were not only very tedious, but liable to other objections, I determined to go the shortest way through Maryland. In this my knowledge of the country and the people, made me so far justifiable, that I should undoubtedly have succeeded, and passed safe, had it not been for an accident (before alluded to) of which I could not then possibly have any foresight. My instructions and commission were concealed in the sticks of my servant's mail pillion, artfully contrived for that purpose, and in the night of the 13th of November, 1775, I took my leave of Lord Dunmore, and set off in company with Lieutenant Allen Cameron, and Dr. John Smyth. These Gentlemen

were both staunch loyalists, men of abilities, and very agreeable to me. Mr. Cameron was from Scotland, and well acquainted with the Indians and Indian affairs, having acted as agent under the honourable John Stuart, superintendent general of the department. He had suffered much abuse for his unshaken loyalty, previous to his coming into Virginia, and had refused the republican offers of military rank in South Carolina with disdain. He had come with dispatches from Governor Lord William Campbell, of South Carolina, Tonyn of East Florida, and the honourable John Stuart, and intended to serve in a corps of Highland emigrants, then raising at Boston, and since the eighty-fourth regiment. His loyalty, courage and good conduct, were so well established, that Lord Dunmore thought him a proper person to accompany me, and gave him a lieutenant's commission, leaving it with me to advance him to a company, if I thought good, on raising the corps, which from the experience I afterwards had of his worth and estimable qualities, I should certainly have done. Dr. Smyth was a Gentleman, who had resided in Maryland, but his nonconformity to the temper of the times, had made him obnoxious to the republican party. Incapable of temporizing he was on his way to West Florida, to escape the turbulence of faction, and act agreeably to his principles. Observing him to be a man of quick penetration, firm loyalty, and ready to serve his Majesty at all hazards, intimately acquainted too with the lower parts of Maryland, through which I intended to pass, I solicited him to accompany me likewise, designing to make him surgeon to the regiment.

We began our unfortunate journey by the way of the Potomac River, intending to land on the Maryland side near Port Tobacco, and by a feint, leave the Pittsburgh road, and proceed by a private route to a place called the Standing Stone, which was beyond the influence of county committees, and from whence to Detroit is not above seven days journey. This, however, was prevented by a furious north-west wind, that drove us up the river St. Mary's, where we landed and took the road like ordinary travellers. We proceeded

on, unmolested, till the evening of the 19th, when we were on the very border of the frontier, and almost out of danger. We stopped for the night at a public house about five miles beyond Hager's Town, the landlord of which knew me. From him we learnt, that although it was known I had been on board with Lord Dunmore, yet it was supposed I should return quietly to Pittsburgh, as soon as I had settled my own personal concerns; neither was it known that I had been to Boston. The misfortune that hung over my head was the effect, not of temerity, but unsuspected private treachery, and the manner in which this happened was as follows:

Some short time before we came to our inn in the evening, a young man met us, that had formerly been a private under my command at Pittsburgh, and saluted me as he passed, by the title of major. This gave some uneasiness to the gentlemen with me, who wished to have him secured; but as I could not pass through the country without the probability of being known by many, and as any violence, or even art, used with the man, were likely rather to produce than avoid the effects they feared; beside, that there was not really any probable danger, I thought it by far more prudent to suffer him to pass unnoticed. About ten o'clock the same night, this man went to a beer-house in Hager's Town, and mixed with some officers of the Minute-men (a species of the Volunteer Militia) where hearing some person in company enquire who those gentlemen were that passed through the town in the evening, he replied, that one of them was Major Connolly. Unfortunately for me a copy of my letter to Mr. Gibson, with Lord Dunmore's speech to the Delaware Chief, had been sent, only two days before, to the Colonel of the Minute-Men, who had spoken of it as a demonstration of my Tory principles to the officers then present; they, therefore, immediately informed their Colonel of my having passed through the town, and he, with as much expedition, sent a body of his men after us, to oblige us to return, that we might be examined before the committee. About two o'clock in the morning they suddenly broke into the room where we lay, and made us prisoners. We were

conducted to Hager's Town, kept in separate houses during the next day and night, and suffered that kind of disturbance and abuse which might be expected from undisciplined soldiers, and a clamorous rabble, at such a crisis. The day following, the committee being assembled, my letter was produced, as a testimony of my political principles being repugnant to their own; and the speech of Lord Dunmore commented upon, as designed to influence the Indians to act against them, in case of hostilities with Great Britain. To which I answered, the sentiments contained in my letter were the result of friendship for a person, with whom I had had a long and early acquaintance. They were not calculated to publicly prejudice their measures; and the person advised was entirely at liberty to pursue his own inclinations. It extended no farther than the giving a private opinion; and the only person culpable was he who could so unwarrantably betray a confidential letter. With respect to the speech, I observed, it was merely an apology from Lord Dunmore to the Indians; he not being able to meet them in council at Pittsburgh, agreeable to his promise the preceding year. The heat of party resentment seemed considerably abated when they had heard me; but it was nevertheless resolved, I should not proceed home (where they supposed me going) till the sense of the whole committee, assembled at Frederick Town, could be taken. This fatal resolution, carried only by a small majority, was, I foresaw, destruction to my hopes, as the news of my having been at Boston must soon get abroad.

And now, instead of proceeding in the service to which my heart was devoted, the next day we were escorted back to Frederick Town, about thirty-five miles, in a retrograde direction, from where we were taken. Here, the first house I entered, I saw a Colonel well known to me, who had just returned from before Boston, and who proceeded, without hesitation, to inform me, that General Washington knew the time of my coming to, and the very day of my leaving Boston; and that it was generally supposed I intended getting into the western part of the Quebec government

by the Mississippi. All attempts at denial were now idle.

The committee were anxious to seize my papers; but, as I found their search ineffectual, I told them they had been sent to Quebec; and, after repeated examination, my portmanteau was returned to my servant, without discovery. Yet, although Dr. Smyth and myself had several times, before we left Norfolk, severely scrutinized and destroyed every paper that might affect us, there was a manuscript that had been wrapt round a stick of black ball by my servant, so soiled and besmeared, as to have escaped the search both of ourselves there, and the committee here, who were as industrious as they were suspicious. This paper, which contained a rough draft of propositions, supposed to have been laid before General Gage by me, but which really was not the case, was discovered in consequence of a fresh examination demanded by a Member of Congress, who arrived at the committee some days after we had been taken to Frederick Town, and was published as my confession, though I repeatedly, and with truth, denied the justice of the supposition.

We were now decidedly prisoners, and it became one of my chief concerns lest my friends of West Augusta County might suffer from my misfortune. I, therefore, obtained an interview with the Member of Congress, and endeavoured to eradicate every suspicion from his mind, by introducing such conversation as I judged most conducive to this purpose. Among other matters, this gentleman informed me, that Congress seeing the consequences of civil war inevitable, had come to a determination that officers taken by them should be admitted to their parole, and treated with every lenity consistent with the public interest, as they expected a similar indulgence would be extended to the unfortunate on their side, who should become prisoners. How far this resolution was adhered to, the subsequent part of this narrative will testify. The idea was, indeed, to me very renovating; it gave me to hope, that although a prisoner now, and my efforts for the present impeded, I should soon

regain my liberty, and have still the power to prove myself an active supporter of the constitutional government.

We were now removed to the house of the Colonel of the Minute-men, and confined in a room where we had no reason to complain of lodging, or diet; but the clamorous gabbling of this raw militia was eternal and noisy beyond conception. They were ignorant, and stupidly turbulent; and their guard, which was relieved every four-and-twenty hours, gave a night of entertainment to themselves and visitors, and of tantalizing perturbation to me, whose heart was incessantly panting after other scenes, and different companions.

My servant, who was a man of great fidelity and adroitness, was not confined; and as he had gathered some slight intimation that matters of consequence were in the pillion sticks, and observing the saddle and its appendages suspended in an adjoining shed, after having undergone a severe but fruitless scrutiny by the committee, he seized a favourable moment in the dead of night, opened the sticks, examined their contents by the light of a fire, and finding of what importance they were, destroyed them all, except my commission. This he sealed up, and conveyed to me, with a note informing me of what he had done, by means of a negro girl, that had before been proved to be faithful.

Among other conjectures, on the probable operations of Congress, I began to reflect, that they would certainly send a body of men down the Ohio, to capture the small garrison at Kuskuskis, as they were in great want of stores and ordnance. I therefore wished very much to inform Captain Lord, who commanded at the Illinois, of his imminent danger, and advise him to quit his post, and gain Detroit, by the Onabache communication, without delay. We had observed, that towards day-light, our guard frequently exhausted by their own noise and folly, were inclined to a momentary quiet, and as no centry were regularly relieved, but all were on duty at the same time, we concluded there was a possibility for one of my companions to effect an escape. But as verbal intelligence might not find immediate credit, it was necessary I should write, and in this our

good negro again assisted us: she procured paper, and an ink-horn, which she contrived to leave between the bed and sacking-bottom, unnoticed by the guard. Thus furnished, I wrote the necessary letters, and Dr. Smyth willingly offering his services for this laborious undertaking, we contrived to unscrew the lock from the door, and towards morning, just as the guard were nodding in their chairs, he slipt down stairs unobserved. We had scarce time to screw the lock on again, and lie down, before the guard entered our room, but seeing some of us in bed, they concluded we were all there, so cried all safe, and retired. This business was very critically effected, for the next day we were to be removed towards Philadelphia, pursuant to an order of Congress.

In the morning, when it was found that Dr. Smyth had made his escape, we felt such consequences as might naturally be expected from vulgar and exasperated men, and were plentifully loaded with opprobrious epithets.

It was on the 29th of December, 1775, in a severely cold season of the year, that we set out for Philadelphia, a journey of one hundred and sixty miles. We were escorted by a party of militia dragoons; our spurs were taken off, our horses placed parallel like coach horses, with their heads tied together in a very confined manner, and a horseman, with a long rope attached to the intermediate cord, rode before, rudely conducting us in whatever direction he thought proper. My servant was allowed to follow with my portmanteau, but not having taken off his spurs, the populace ran violently up to him, and cut through his boot and stocking to tear them away. We were obliged to perform a considerable journey that day, in a manner painful to remember; the road was rough, the snow on the ground, the rivulets numerous and frozen, and a track for the horses obliged to be broken through them. These were only made wide enough for a single horse, and notwithstanding our entreaties to the contrary, we were obliged to enter all these narrow passes, with our horses abreast, the consequence of which was, a continual contest between the poor animals, to preserve the open communication, alternately forcing each

other to jump upon the firm ice, or break a larger extent in the struggle. Our knees were repeatedly bruised, and our limbs in imminent danger of being broken, by the incessant falls and warfare of the horses. Sorry am I to say, it rather afforded cause of merriment to our conductors, than any scope for the exercise of benevolence. For the honour of humanity, however, it should be observed, that our guard consisted of the lowest and most irrational of the inhabitants, in and near the town of Frederick, and their captain a common surgeon-barber.

On the second day we reached York Town, where a committee assembled to determine how they were to lodge us. Their deliberations were not of long continuance; we were committed to a room in the county gaol, in which was a dirty straw bed, little covering; and, notwithstanding the inclemency of the season, no fire; add to which, their new made soldiers were so fond of fife and drum, that they entertained us all night with this music. The next morning was the first of January, 1776, and we were conducted from gaol to the tavern, where our horses were, by an officer's guard, and a drum beating the rogue's march. Here we were consigned once more to our polite friends of Frederick Town, who, to the no small entertainment of the populace, ironically and vociferously complimented us with many wishes of a happy new year.

Led in this insulting manner, by a formidable guard, and exhibited *in terrorem* to all loyalists, I now too plainly saw the probability of my falling a political sacrifice, and that this parade of indignity was but the commencement of my sufferings. I was the first person of influence, who had attempted to support the Royal cause, by raising troops in America. That they meant to intimidate every Gentleman from future efforts of that nature, not only by exposing me as an object of contempt to one party, and of dread to the other, but of unrelenting persecution likewise, will I think be evident from the facts contained in this narrative. Let it, however, be always understood, both here, and in all other places, where I mention the rigours I sustained, that

I do not mean to accuse any man, or set of men, any farther than a fair statement of my own case requires; nor have I any view, but to shew that my sufferings were the effects of my unshaken loyalty, that I was, while free, an active maintainer, and when imprisoned, an inflexible adherent to the cause I espoused; that they were convinced of this, and that this was the source of the unabating severity with which I was treated. By the received modes of modern war, their conduct was certainly unjustifiable; how far their peculiar situation may extenuate this charge, is not for me to determine. My purpose is only faithfully to relate what the interest of myself and family demands should be related.

When we again set forward, great numbers of the inhabitants of York-Town rode with us to Wright's-Ferry, as well for the novelty of the sight, as to be present at an interview that was expected to take place between me and an uterine brother of mine, who had long been the representative of the county in the general assembly of the Province, and who was of a very different political complexion. I know not how this meeting affected the multitude, but to me it conjured up a train of melancholy ideas; my own example gave me a strong picture of the horrors of civil discord, that was too dismal to behold without a shudder. My stay was short; at my brother's request, I was suffered to walk upon the ice, across the Susquehanna, in his company, with the guard following in the rear. The painful remembrance of the blessings of peace, and of the ravages of that dissention that could make the brother war against the brother, and the son against the father, gave sensations, better to be imagined than expressed. When we reached the opposite shore, therefore, we soon took our leave.

This night we were lodged in the gaol at Lancaster, and two days more brought us to Philadelphia, where we were committed to the charge of the associated city militia dressed in uniform. About six in the evening, by an order from the Council of Safety, we were marched to where they sat, and from thence to prison, where, by the nature of the commitment, we were debarred the use of pen, ink, and paper.

My servant too was now involved in the severity practised upon me, and we were all three shut up in a dirty room, in which we could obtain nothing but an old pair of blankets, and that only in consideration of a considerable premium to the gaoler. In this state we continued in the depth of winter for ten days, without a change of linen, before we could get our cloaths out of the hands of the Council of Safety; at length they were restored, and by virtue of pecuniary influence, we obtained something that the keeper called a bed. Here we remained till the latter end of January, when we were removed to a new and elegant prison, then lately erected, whither we were escorted with great formality, and again honoured with a rogue's march. Was this necessity, or was it illiberal faction? if the latter, success will not surely wipe off the aspersion incurred by the author of this ungenerous treatment; if the former, benevolence must lament for those who were the unfortunate victims. Thus Congress were determined, not only to hold me up as a public example of political vengeance to the loyalists, but to take every means possible to degrade and render me contemptible.

(To be continued.)

THE AUTHORSHIP OF "PLAIN TRUTH."

BY PAUL LEICESTER FORD.

A few weeks after the first publication of Thomas Paine's "Common Sense," there was issued at Philadelphia a reply to it, which was greeted with great applause by those opposed to American independence, and at the time was almost as much read and discussed as Paine's pamphlet. Written on the losing side of a question, its author never divulged his name, and the tract has passed into neglect. "Common Sense" gave Paine contemporary fame, and a place ever since in our literature. "Plain Truth" brought trouble to even the suspected authors, was without avail, and has since become to our historians and bibliographers as great a puzzle, on a small scale, as the letters of "Junius." To trace the various attempts to father it on its author, and to endeavor to produce the true one, is the scope of this article.

Almost immediately after the publication of "Plain Truth," a Philadelphia mob settled on Richard Wells, a political writer of some local note, as the author, and compelled him, through fear of his own safety, to make a public denial to the effect that he was not the writer, which, as it was satisfactory to his contemporaries, should be so still.

In 1792, we find under November 19, in Jefferson's "Ana,"[1] as follows: "Beckley brings me the pamphlet written by Hamilton, before the war, in answer to 'Common Sense.' It is entitled 'Plain Truth.' Melanchthon Smith sends it to Beckley and in his letter says, it was not printed in New York by Loudon, because prevented by a mob, and was printed in Philadelphia, and that he has these facts from Loudon;" and that Jefferson really be-

[1] Jefferson's Works, IX. 193.

lieved this is shown by his own copy of the pamphlet now in the library of Congress, on the title of which he has neatly written, "By Alexander Hamilton." When, however, one weighs the facts that this is written in the famous "Ana," at least fourth hand from the origin of the statement, by Hamilton's great political opponent, who was ever ready to believe anything to his disadvantage, that the statement contains certainly two gross errors,[1] and that the style and opinions are at utter variance with the suggested author, we can dismiss this answer to the puzzle as simply ridiculous.

From his own statement, that "in February last I wrote an answer to a pamphlet entitled 'Common Sense,'"[2] the work was referred by Mr. William Kelby[3] and others to the Rev. Charles Inglis, of New York; but this statement refers to another and already identified pamphlet.[4]

In 1877, Mr. Franklin Burdge, in a letter to the "Magazine of American History,"[5] advanced a claim for Joseph Galloway as the probable author, basing the hypothesis on the style, the similarity of the title with one subsequently published by him, and the opinions and surroundings of Galloway; but this evidence, in the absence of other proof, is of the slightest value, and I quite agree with Mr. Hildeburn, that "if the dedication to his old enemy, Dickinson, is not sufficient, the laudatory references to the Proprietary Government of Pennsylvania are enough to preclude the slightest credence to the claim put forth for him."[6]

Mr. Hildeburn, after a careful examination of the probable authors, gave it to George Chalmers, on the grounds that "the author's style, allusions to the Eastern Shore of Maryland (where Chalmers resided), admiration of a pro-

[1] That the pamphlet was printed before the war, and that it was to have been printed by Loudon.

[2] "New York Documentary History," III. 1059.

[3] "Magazine of American History," I. 693.

[4] "The True Interest of America Impartially Stated in certain Strictures on a Pamphlet intitled Common Sense. By An American. . . . Philadelphia: . . . MDCCLXXVI."

[5] I. 633; II. 59.

[6] "Issues of the Press of Pennsylvania," II. 245.

prietary (the Maryland as well as Pennsylvania) form of government, and ardent Presbyterianism, all point to him as the author." But I think a careful study of the pamphlet will show that the style, which is florid and ornate, is quite different from Chalmers's rather labored and heavy way of writing, and that the author has a decided bent towards the Episcopal sect. It is, however, unnecessary to cite this negative disproof, for Chalmers left this country in 1774,[1] and was therefore gone when the tract was published.

It should perhaps be mentioned that in one of the printed catalogues of the library of Congress the pamphlet is entered under "Smith, William, Chief-Justice of New York," evidently an error, as I shall prove further on.

Having now dealt with the hitherto accredited authors, it remains to examine the contents and opinions of the pamphlet itself. The title[2] is followed by a complimentary dedication to John Dickinson. Next is a short "Introduction," after which comes "Plain Truth" to page 74. Then come two excerpts from the newspapers, signed "Rationalis" and "Cato," and one from the "Journals of Congress." Lastly "Additions to Plain Truth." An examination of the matter proves, I think, that the author is both a Pennsylvanian and Episcopalian; that he is a warm admirer of Dickinson[3] and General Montgomery;[4] that he dislikes Franklin[5] and the New Englanders;[6] that he approves of the proprietary government; that he sympathizes with the colonies up to the point of independence; and that he very eagerly argues the right of Pennsylvania in the land question between that State and Connecticut."[7] In the absence of other evidence, this analysis is of slight value, but as confirmatory evidence it may be of use. The author's personal allusions to himself I consider in an anonymous pamphlet quite valueless, as, setting

[1] Drake's "Dictionary of American Biography."

[2] "Plain Truth; addressed to the Inhabitants of America, Containing, Remarks on a late pamplet, entitled Common Sense . . . Written by Candidus . . . Philadelphia: Printed, and Sold, by R. Bell, in Third-Street. MDCCLXXVI."

[3] Dedication "Plain Truth."

[4] Page 27, Ibid.

[5] Page 134, Ibid.

[6] Page 63, Ibid.

[7] Page 43, Ibid.

out to conceal his identity, he will, of course, either purposely misstate or omit all facts that would under ordinary cases serve to identify him.

From various sources[1] it is clear that the series of essays written against American independence and signed "Cato," one of which is reprinted in "Plain Truth," were written by Rev. William Smith, of Philadelphia. Thus we find the author of at least a part of the tract. On the title-page of Oliver Ellsworth's copy of "Plain Truth," now in the library of Congress, is noted in the handwriting of its former owner, "By William Smith," who, by some error, as already noted, appears in the printed catalogue as the chief-justice of New York, whereas the Rev. William Smith is clearly intended.

Here we have two pieces of evidence, both pointing to the same man, and we may fairly test how far the opinions already cited support the evidence. William Smith was a Philadelphian and an Episcopal clergyman; he agreed with Dickinson in both past and present politics, and was, I presume, well acquainted with him; he had just delivered a highly-eulogistic funeral sermon on General Montgomery; he had been opposed to Franklin in some of the bitterest of political fights, and now, of course, differed with him in opinions; his residence and religion would naturally make him dislike the New Englanders; he had been a supporter of the proprietary party; he had sympathized with the colonies up to a certain point, and, indeed, though known to hold Tory opinions, was not treated as one; and he felt so great an interest in the Pennsylvania-Connecticut land controversy that but two years before he had written a pamphlet on the Pennsylvania side.

I am aware that all this would hardly be accepted by the courts as evidence, but I think, in view of the fact that the claims of the hitherto suggested authors all seem untenable, and that all the facts here presented point to one man, we shall, until further proof or disproof is produced, be right in awarding it to the Rev. William Smith.

[1] "Life of William Smith," by Horace W. Smith. Adams's "Familiar Letters," 167. Hopkinson's "Miscellaneous Essays," II. 94.

A MEMOIR OF GENERAL HENRY MILLER.

BY HIS GRANDSON, HENRY MILLER WATTS.

(Concluded from Vol. XI. page 345.)

Congress, on 10th September, left it discretional with Washington to abandon New York, and four days thereafter preparations were made to do so. The British crossed to the city, pursued the Americans, and forced them to the heights beyond Harlem River, where Colonel Hand's riflemen assisted to check their farther advance. In the movements connected with the withdrawal of the Americans from Manhattan Island and their retreat through New Jersey, after the capture of Fort Washington, until the west bank of the Delaware was reached, Captain Miller's regiment bore a conspicuous part. Coryell's Ferry was reached the middle of December, "and so harassed had they been," writes Miller, "by the pursuing enemy that I had not time to change my clothes for two weeks; but with fifty men I crossed the river to capture some straggling light-horse, when we unexpectedly encountered a large force of the enemy on the route to Burlington, and had the good fortune to do so just when Captain Hamilton was about to surrender to a superior force. We were, however, forced to recross the river."

The part taken by Captain Miller in the surprise of the Hessians under Colonel Rahl, at Trenton, he communicated to his family under date of December 28. . . . "Gen. Stephen's brigade entered the town and routed them. His Excellency desired our regiment to head them, which we did. They formed line of battle. We advanced within sixty yards of them without firing a gun, but with such rapidity and determination as to strike terror into them. The enemy grounded their arms, and 919 Hessians surrendered as

prisoners of war." In the attempt made by Cornwallis to surprise Washington, who had recrossed into New Jersey, where he had been joined by the troops of Cadwalader and Mifflin, Hand's Pennsylvania riflemen again distinguished themselves. Miller was in command of the advance guard, and in the action which ensued led the left wing of the regiment. At midnight Washington stealthily withdrew his army and marched to Princeton, where, after a sharp fight, he dispersed the four regiments incautiously left there by Cornwallis, and then retired to Morristown. The British, apprehending the capture of their stores at Brunswick, fell back on that place. By the strategy of Washington the movement of Cornwallis proved a failure.

General Wilkinson (who was an eye-witness), in his memoirs, refers to the part borne by the subject of this memoir in the retreat through the Jerseys as follows: "Major Miller of Hand's riflemen was ordered by General Washington to check the rapid movements of the enemy in pursuit of the American army, while retreating across the State of New Jersey. The order was so successfully executed and the advance of a powerful enemy so embarrassed that the American troops, which afterwards gained the Independence of their Country, were preserved from an overthrow, which would have proved the grave of our Liberties." In a note he further states: "General Miller, late of Baltimore, was distinguished for his cool bravery, wherever he served. He certainly possessed the entire confidence of General Washington." On March 12, 1777, Captain Miller was promoted to major of his regiment, to rank from September 28, 1776.

Major Miller participated with his regiment in the varying and eventful scenes connected with the capture of Philadelphia. Six days after the battle of Germantown, he wrote to his family from Pawling's Mill: "We attacked the enemy's picket about daylight and drove them in. The divisions of Sullivan and Wayne immediately fell upon them and by a vigorous attack repulsed the enemy three times, and putting them to flight, pursued them upwards of two

miles through Germantown, capturing their tents, baggage, provisions, artillery, &c. In short, they were entirely routed, and nothing but the following unfortunate circumstance prevented a complete victory, with the possession of Philadelphia and Gen. Howe's army. A few of the enemy threw themselves into a stone house and gave several warm fires on our men while passing, which drew attention of too great a part of our army, and stopped our left from pursuing the enemy, in full flight before us and in the greatest confusion. The enemy had now time to rally, and advanced on our men engaged at this house. At the same time, a column of our men coming up in the rear of those at the house, were mistaken in the fog of the morning and the smoke of the action for the enemy, and threw our left into confusion. These circumstances, I say, prevented a complete victory, and obliged us to leave the ground to a conquered foe, with the artillery, &c., which had first fallen into our hands: they having stabbed their horses.

"The loss on either side I cannot tell with precision. Of the enemy Gen. Agnew and Gen. Grant were killed, and Sir William Erskine mortally wounded. We lost Gen. Nash and a few officers killed and wounded. Our army is in higher spirits than ever, being convinced from the first officer to the soldier, that our quitting the field must be ascribed to other causes than the force of the enemy: for even they acknowledged that we fled from victory. We hope to meet them soon again, and, with the assistance of Providence, to restore our suffering citizens to their possessions and homes."

On the evacuation of Philadelphia, General Washington started in pursuit of Clinton, and compelled him to make a stand at Monmouth. In the battle which ensued, Major Miller took a conspicuous part. We quote the following from his letter dated at Brunswick, July 4, 1778: "We joined the army the day preceding the engagement at Cranberry. The whole army moved to support the infantry, which was detached to engage the enemy. The Pennsylvania division arrived just as the enemy appeared near the bridge, where

a large swamp covered the right and left flanks. Part of our infantry under command of Col's Stewart and Livingston, advanced over the bridge and attacked the enemy. These detachments behaved gallantly and acquired great honor, and altho' overpowered by superior numbers, did the enemy very considerable damage, before they retired. A severe cannonade then commenced, which did great execution on both sides. As the ground would not admit of a general action, several detachments were ordered out. Col. Craig, with his and a part of the Ninth Penna. Regiment, advanced over the swamp and were advantageously posted in an orchard, and were attacked by the British grenadiers. After a protracted and obstinate engagement the enemy fled with precipitation, leaving the field covered with the dead: among whom were Col. Moncton and several of their principal officers. Lieut.-Col. Bunner of the Penna. troops was killed. I had the honor to fall in with this detachment, just as the action began. Gen. Wayne came up at the same time and took the command. Gen. Wayne greatly distinguished himself and may be called the hero of the day. We encamped victoriously on the field strewn over with the dead. The fatigue of the troops and the intense heat, together with the advantageous position of the enemy prevented us from pursuit. We intended to be after them in the morning; but were disappointed by their precipitate retreat at 12 o'clock at night.

"Col. Morgan is on their rear. I had the misfortune of having two horses killed under me during the action; the first by a cannon and the second by a musket ball. The return of the dead and buried of the enemy is 303; their wounded must be at least 600 or 700. This evening a 'feu de joy' will be fired by the whole army in commemoration of the anniversary of our Independence."

Monmouth was the last battle of any prominence fought in the Middle States, and was also the last in which Colonel Miller participated. At the close of the campaign of 1778, he had been engaged for three and one-half years in the military service of his country, during which time his young

family had become so impoverished that he recognized the absolute necessity of returning to his home. On November 21, 1778, he addressed a letter to General Washington, in which he enclosed a resignation of his commission as lieutenant-colonel of the Second Pennsylvania Infantry, ranking from March 1, 1777, and in about a month subsequent received the following reply:

"HEAD QUARTERS, MIDDLEBROOK. } December 18, 1778.

"SIR:

"I have your letter of the 21st ulto. now before me. A good officer cannot feel more real concern to find that his domestic affairs and the circumstances of his family make it necessary for him to leave the army, than I do myself in losing his services.

"I always part reluctantly with the officer who, like you, has been early in the cause and borne his share of military danger and fatigue, and I cannot help wishing that a continuance in the army could, in any wise be made compatible with your domestic duties. But should you find this impossible, I suppose I need not tell you that it is customary, in all cases of resignation, to have a certificate that there is no public or regimental account unsettled.

"You will be pleased to communicate such a certificate, in case you take a conclusive determination to resign.

"I am, Sir,

"Your most humble servt

"GEO. WASHINGTON.

"TO LIEUT. COLONEL MILLER."

Colonel Miller accordingly returned to his family at York, with the hope of relieving them from the troubles and vexations to which his long absence and the vicissitudes of war had reduced his estate and them. He was affectionately welcomed by his family and friends. York, since Congress held its sessions there, had become a point of attraction for the American and French officers, and Colonel Miller's house a home for hospitality.

The consideration and distinction Colonel Miller earned in the war was substantially recognized on his return to private life, and his fellow-citizens continued to confer office on office upon him, until the exigencies of the country again called him to take up arms in her behalf. In October of 1780 he was elected high sheriff of York County, and performed the duties of that office for three years. At the annual elections for the years 1783, '84, and '85 he was returned to the Assembly to represent his county, and at the expiration of his last term was appointed prothonotary of the Courts of Common Pleas. In August of the same year he was commissioned judge of the County Courts. While engaged in the performance of his judicial duties he was elected a delegate to the State Constitutional Convention of 1789–90.

It was anticipated by himself and family that a seat upon the bench would give him some repose, when unfortunately the Indian war in the Northwest broke out, in which St. Clair and Harmer had been defeated. At this time Henry Miller commanded the first brigade of York and Lancaster militia, in the second division, under command of General Hand. In the Whiskey Insurrection he was commissioned and served as quartermaster-general. On his return home President Washington appointed him supervisor of the revenue for the District of Pennsylvania, and he executed the duties of this responsible and in some measure unpopular office with such judgment and fairness as to free it of its obnoxious features. Being a stanch Federalist, he was removed from office by President Jefferson, who appointed Peter Muhlenberg in his place. General Miller had been a close adherent and admirer of Washington, Knox, Hamilton, and other military gentlemen, and was one of the original members of the Society of the Cincinnati. He looked upon apostasy to their principles as a personal degradation.

In November of 1801, General Miller removed from York to Baltimore, where he engaged successfully in business till 1807, when Congress passed the embargo law, which soon prostrated the shipping and commercial interests of the

country. In the second war with Great Britain, General Miller again accepted a commission of brigadier-general of militia, and was charged with the defence of Fort McHenry and its dependencies. When the British left the Chesapeake the troops were discharged and he returned to private life. In 1813, General Miller left Baltimore and retired to a farm at the confluence of the Susquehanna and Juniata Rivers, desiring to spend the remainder of his life in tranquillity, but this was denied him. The British having reappeared before Baltimore, he was again called to accompany the Pennsylvania troops in the capacity of quartermaster-general. This service being performed, he returned to his farm, where he remained until 1821, when he was appointed by Governor Heister prothonotary of the courts of Perry County. At the expiration of his term of office he removed his family residence to Carlisle, where he died, April 5, 1824, and was buried with military honors.

His domestic circle consisted of two sons and four daughters. His son Joseph was a lieutenant in the army, and died in the service, while performing his duties as quartermaster at Ogdensburg, during the second war with England, and his son William was a lieutenant in the navy, and died on board the frigate "L'Insurgent," Captain Murray.

His eldest daughter, Capandana, married Colonel Campbell; his second, Mary, married Thomas Banning, a Maryland planter; and his third, Julia Anna, married David Watts, Esq. His fourth daughter, Harriet, died unmarried. There are no descendants of these five sons and daughters now surviving, except the sons and daughters of David Watts and Julia Anna Miller.

EXTRACTS FROM THE DIARY OF HANNAH CALLENDER.

BY GEORGE VAUX.

[Hannah Callender, afterwards the wife of Samuel Sansom,[1] was the only child of William and Katharine Callender who lived beyond infancy. She was born in 1737, probably in the city of Philadelphia. Her father, William Callender, Jr., was a native of the island of Barbadoes, where he was born in 1703. His parents, William and Hannah Callender (who were of Scotch extraction), were members of old Quaker families of that island, where the Society of Friends was a large and influential body in early times.

Hannah Callender's mother was Katharine Smith, daughter of Daniel and Mary (Murfin) Smith, emigrants who came to America in the ship "Shield," and settled at or near Burlington, New Jersey.

Hannah Callender was married to Samuel Sansom, a merchant of Philadelphia, in 1762, and died in 1801. They had five children, of whom Katharine, Joseph, and Samuel died without descendants, the former in childhood. William was ancestor of one branch of the Vaux family, and from Sarah are descended branches of the Perot and Morris families.

From 1758 to about the time of her marriage Hannah Callender kept a regular diary. It is mostly personal in its character, and the parts of general interest are not numerous, and are scattered at wide intervals from each other. The months and numerical days of the week are given in the diary, but she omitted the days of the month except in a few instances. This must be kept in mind in reading the following extracts.]

[1] Samuel Sansom was the son of Samuel Sansom, the elder (who emigrated from England in 1732), and grandson of John Sansom, of London. From 1773 to 1807 he occupied the position of treasurer of the Philadelphia Contributionship, and was chiefly instrumental in placing that ancient institution upon a substantial basis. Upon his retirement, the company presented him with a silver waiter and pitcher, both of which have the device of "Hand-in-Hand" engraved upon them. The pitcher (which is about sixteen inches high, and has a hinged cover in the form of a fireman's hat) also has upon it an inscription testifying to the disinterested services of the recipient during a period of thirty-four years. These interesting relics are in possession of the writer.

1758, *8th mo.*, *2d day.*—Anthony Benezet drank tea with us. Talked of some persons who had been searching for a place to dwell in where the Devil had not been, but alas! he is as heretofore, walking to and fro in the earth.

5th day.—Went to see the vault [provided for the] interment of Tench Francis.[1]

2d day.—News of Cape Breton's surrender the 26th of this month.

4th day.—Evening a grand illumination for Cape Breton, for which the Quakers paid. Broke twenty panes of glass for us. John Reynolds' house the windows in general. Some window shutters shattered to pieces.

9th mo., *7th day.*—Concluded upon a party to Bush Hill in the afternoon. A fine house and gardens with statues and fine paintings, particularly a picture of St. Ignatius at his devotions, exceedingly well done.

2d day.—James Logan here,—says the people at Burlington have been preparing this month past for the carnival.

11th mo., *2d day.*—The universal topic of the town now is a French Frigate, that lies off the Capes and annoys the shipping much. Has taken from New York and this place twenty one vessels.

7th day.—Read the journal of Frederick Post [Moravian missionary] to the Ohio among the Indians, in July 1758, who went with his life in his hands and was in jeopardy every moment.[2]

12th mo., *2d day.*—News of Fort Duquesne being forsaken by the French, who blew up most part of it with the poor sick and wounded English prisoners that they had in their possession. Oh war! horrid war! how does it make human nature act derogatory to the first principles instilled by the Divine dictator! They found odds of the poor highlanders lying above ground with pockets not so much as picked, but [in them] some of their English money which they changed our paper for, not thinking it money till they had it in

[1] In Christ Church burial-ground, Arch and Fifth Streets.

[2] The original manuscript of this journal is in the collection of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

coin: which proved no safeguard to them against the wild beasts of the field who mangled their carcasses. [Our] army passed by the dreadful field of slaughter and the remaining bones of Braddock's army, and decently interred them. No doubt there were those who wept there for near relations and friends.

Forbes has called the Indians in to have a treaty, and has leave of them to repair the fort and call it by the name of Pittsburg.

12*th mo.*, 5*th day.*—Rebecca Coleman's mother, now 80 years of age, remembers when a child riding on boughs of trees cut down in the clearing of Front Street, and but two or three houses in the now famous City of Philadelphia.

1759, 1*st mo.*, 2*d day.*—Able James and Doctor Evans drank tea here. Some passages of Ben: Franklin's droll humor related. In a letter to his sister in New England, a strong Presbyter, [he said]: "I am glad to hear of the reduction of Cape Breton. When it was taken before it was taken by prayer, now by fight, and I desire you will pray that it may never be given up again, which was omitted before." Another: "Your religion leads you three stories high: faith, hope, and charity, but before I go any further, I wish I could turn the house bottom upward and put charity at the bottom."

1*st day.*—Went to meeting. Becky Jones[1] spoke. [She] is the daughter of a poor widow not of our persuasion [who] had got unhinged by Whitefield, and went nowhere [to worship], by which reason her daughter was left in a manner to do as she pleased. The Bank Meeting being hard by [Front Street, above Arch], she would often step in there,

[1] Rebecca Jones became an eminent minister in the Society of Friends. She was a devoted Christian, and possessed a remarkably well-balanced mind. She was prominently known in her day, and universally beloved and respected by her fellow-Christians of all religious denominations. Her conversion to Quakerism is supposed to have been largely due to the influence of Hannah Callender's mother. Her memoirs were published about forty years ago, under the editorial pen of the late William J. Allinson. These memoirs are rich in incidents illustrative of home life among Friends a century ago.

till she began to give Friends a preference. Though her mother took not much care of her religion, she gave her as good an education other ways as her abilities would afford, which joined to a good natural capacity opened her understanding and enlarged her ideas, till by Divine assistance, she became convinced of truth, and if she continues her integrity by the fitness and well adapting of her words, will be a good minister.

4th mo., 6th day.—[In company with several friends] set out the Jersey Road for Burlington . . . and see myself welcomed amidst my relations and friends in the place I am so obligated to—the place of my mother's nativity.

Five sons and a daughter of Doctor Richard Smith, of Bramham, in Yorkshire, came over early to America and settled at Burlington. The eldest brother, Daniel Smith, married Mary Murfin. They were my grandparents. Their children were:

Daniel Smith, born the 2d of 2d Month, 1696; married Mary Hool.

Robert Smith, born the 9th of the 8th Month, 1698; married Elizabeth Bacon.

John Smith, born the 20th of the 8th Month, 1700; married Ann Farrel.

Joseph Smith, born 7th Month, 1702; died the 19th of the 1st Month, 1713.

Benjamin Smith, born the 8th of the 10th Month, 1704; married Sarah Burling.

Samuel Smith, born the 23d of the 9th Month, 1706; died the 19th of the 7th Month, 1712.

Mary Smith, born the 3d of the 8th Month, 1709; died the 20th of the 5th Month, 1710.

Catharine Smith, born the 22d of the 12th Month, 1711; married William Callender.

Taken from Daniel Smith's family Bible, 1759, 4th Month, the 20th, by Hannah Callender.

5th mo., 3d day.—[Still at Burlington.] Five hundred regulars passed through the town for Philadelphia. One of the officers lodged here. Saw the comet, but it appeared dim.

6th day.—Breakfast with Sarah Murfin, widow of my grandmother Smith's brother John Murfin, now an ancient woman. Then Nancy Murfin, agreeably enlarging the company, we set out for Stoney Brook meeting, about twelve miles. Stopped at James Clark's, a mile and a half from meeting, two young women his daughters going with us from thence to meeting. A most pleasant ride by the side of Stoney Brook, for the most part through fine meadow with the prospect of a fine high country around. [From meeting] we proceeded a mile and a half to Princetown. Dined at Horner's. Walked around the college and the President's house. Good buildings for so young a country, placed on a well chosen spot of ground, with the command of the country around as far as the ken of sight. There are several good buildings in the town, but whether the college will bring forth more good than hurt, time will demonstrate; seeing as I thought some traces of the monster vice have made their appearance even in so short a time as three years. Being First day we found them at prayers, therefore did not go inside the building. It accommodates one hundred and fifty scholars. Thence we rode ten miles through a pleasant country interspersed with all the variety that completed a fine prospect to Trentown, and drank tea at Joseph Decou's [DeCou]. Molly Derry came to see me in testimony of her long acquaintance with my father. Betsy Bacon walked around the town with us to see the barracks and English Church, and remarked the dwellings of several families that I know. Rode five miles to William Murfin's and lodged there.

2d day.—Rode a mile to Preserve Brown's where we passed the morning agreeably in seeing his mill and its works, attending to the fall of the water, pleasing discourse, fishing, &c. till two o'clock. Then we set out for Burlington, through Crosswicks, and pleasantly home by six o'clock.

1st day.—Richard Smith and Anna Pole came from Philadelphia, and brought me a letter of permission from my parents to go in company with Anna to [New] York, and as my relations here approve of the journey I shall prepare

to go. I look upon myself as particularly under the care of Jane Burling, who is to follow the next stage day, because there would have been otherwise too large a company for convenience. [The company consisted of] Jane Burling and her son, Thomas Pryor, Anna and Betsy Rodman, Seaman and Thomas Rodman, Richard Smith, Senior, and Thomas Powel and his wife. Anna [Pole] lodged with me, and we rose 2d day morning at 4 o'clock dressed ourselves by moonlight breakfasted and set out in the stage wagon for Shaw's. Our more particular company comprised Richard Smith, Senior, and James James, some sailors shipwrecked in the King of Prussia, a humorous old Dutchman, and an officer of the Jersey Blues. One of the sailors by last night's debauch and early rising, became the jest of brother tars, saying it was a rough sea and made the passengers sick. The country people were thick along the road going to the fair at Burlington. Young beaus on race horses—the girls putting on all their airs and graces to captivate, so that it was hard to find out which made the deepest impression on the young fellows' minds, horses or women.

By seven o'clock we arrived at Crosswicks, where we breakfasted at Douglas's.[1] The meeting-house at Crosswicks is an ancient building, but looks well. Passed through Allentown. Took another passenger in, Dr. Noel. Dined in Cranberry at Prigmore's. Here we fell in company with the other stages, those from Bordentown. Took the wagon that goes from here to Amboy ferry. Diversity of objects and company filled our minds with abundance of ideas. Saw the wrecks of two stages occasioned by [intoxicated] drivers and passengers. Crossed the head of the famous South River, whose navigation benefits New York with wood. For the length of two miles saw hundreds of trees torn up by the roots in a violent storm of wind that happened about two years ago. We arrived at Amboy ferry by six o'clock, little fatigued considering the length of the journey—fifty miles. Our minds being absorbed with the

[1] This well-known hostlery stood at the intersection of the main street and Recklesstown road.

prospect of the ocean, we could not be content in the house, so we walked around the shore and were delighted: but weary nature calling for refreshment we went to the house again and drank a dish of tea. The house was full of people, being the place for both stages. So many different kinds of folks, all strangers in their manners to us young travellers, filled our minds with a variety of ideas. Our officer fellow-traveller came to the door and asked where the ladies were. R. Smith brought him into the room to us, and he very civilly bowed and wishing us well withdrew. Anna and I looked diligently to the landlady for clean sheets and pillowcases [which were furnished]. Notwithstanding the drinking and roaring appeared strange to us, it did not keep us awake all night.

3d day morning.—At five o'clock the people began to stir about the house, which roused us and we went and sat at the door. You see the small town of Amboy just opposite the ferry. Noted the house Governor Belcher lived in. Cornelius Bradford and his sister, Doctor Ogden's wife and children, breakfasted with us: they were going from York to Philadelphia and by them I sent my love to my parents. By this time the house began to part with some of its inhabitants and people whom destiny had shown to each other [for a short time] parted never perhaps to meet again. We see ships at a great distance out at sea, pursuing the pathless tracks of the mighty ocean. At Nine o'clock we took boat. Our humorous passengers the sailors, had intelligence of a Man of War, the Nightingale, being in want of hands and pressing. One o'clock they went ashore at Amboy, and brought some ham and cold veal aboard and very civilly offered us part! This and a generous bottle inspired them with fresh courage to think of the press-gang. We then set out and went between the islands: the shores are prettily diversified with country seats and cultivated lands. We saw the post road to York. It is a very pretty sail and the porpoises tumbling along add to it. The sailors landed first on Staten Island, where Richard Smith and all went ashore, and presently one of the sailors came down

with wine and a glass to invite us to drink. We thanked him for his civility, but declined the offer. We hoped they would have stayed there, but they all came aboard again, rolling stones in for ammunition, declaring it should be warm work if [the press-gang] did take them. This raised Anna's and my fears, but the men were so comical that I told them I believed it took a great deal to break a sailor's heart. Very true miss (one replied) a merry life and a short one is their maxim.

There was a poor little fellow in the boat who had run away from his parents (about thirteen years of age). He said he was youngest son of a merchant of Bristol, one Edwards. He had a great notion to go to sea and his parents greatly against it, but consented to let him go one voyage in one of their own vessels under care of the captain. This instead of abating increased his desire, but they were the more determined he should not go again. He got what [money] he could privately and took his passage on board a vessel bound for Maryland; as some time before an elder brother had married and was settled there, with a design to find him out. But he soon found the difference between being a cabin passenger under the care of the captain and having no one to take care of him. When they landed at Charlestown, the cruel creatures stole all his clothes and money from him. He wandered about some time in quest of his brother, but could get no tidings of him and was reduced to misery. He hired himself on board a vessel to go to York, in hopes to get home, but when he came there the vessels for England were all gone. He then went on board the privateer King of Prussia, when he was cast away and would have perished, but for one of the sailors now in our boat, who touched with his youth and sad relation, took him under his care and brought him to Philadelphia, and from thence to York, and had promised him he would seek a passage for him home. My heart yearned and I wept over him, and Anna and I advised him, gave him something and I doubt not but he will remember us as long as he lives. The sailors landed on York Island some miles from town, and

when we were in gunshot of the Nightingale, she fired and some of them came on board of us, but as there was nobody for them they soon left us.

We landed at Whitehall stairs about six o'clock and walked up Queen Street till we came to Burling's Slip, when we stepped into William Hawkshurst's and found Sally well. She went with us a little higher up to Bateman's slip, where my aunt Sarah Smith and Phebe Pell live, who were very glad to see us and made us heartily welcome. New York struck us at first view and we thought it very fine, as indeed the outside of the houses are, [the builders] being very fond of scalloping and painting. The outside of the houses too may generally pass as epitomes of their masters. They are a gay people, but we found them very polite to strangers.

4th day.—Walter and Thomas Franklin came and inquired for us: they were acquainted with Anna in Philadelphia. Polly Morris and Polly Burling came to see us, and we had an agreeable afternoon walk down the Broad Way, a fine broad street with rows of buttonwoods and locusts on each side, and for the most part good houses. The water carts going about the City were quite new to us. We hobbled home over the stone pavement, having seen enough for that night.

5th day.—We dined with Sally Hawkshurst, and in the afternoon Richard Smith and she went with us to the milliner's, Mrs. Durham's in Wall Street. From thence to Alexander's great shop in Broad Street.

6th day.—[In company with several friends] walked up along the North River, then down by the King's docks and the Battery home.

7th day.—5 o'clock in the morning set out for Flushing. It was such a fog that in crossing the river we were out of sight of land. The ferry on Nassau or Long Island is almost a town, and the pleasantness of the road begins from thence. It is pretty thickly settled from thence to Jamaica, a little town where we breakfasted at Mashe's. It cleared up a fine day and was very agreeable travelling. Jamaica

consists of one street adorned with trees, a pretty little town. Thence we went to Samuel Bound's [Bowne]. Flushing is fourteen miles from York, and is a pleasant place. There is a pretty country seat just on the brow of the hill belonging to a gentleman in York. We dined at Samuel Bound's [Bowne], thence walked along the side of a hill and recreated ourselves with trays-ace in the orchard: and there we lodged.

1*st day.*—Went to [Friends'] meeting. John Stowe spoke. Full half of the meeting was of other persuasions, who made a cantico of coming to the great meeting. There were a good many Friends from our parts there—James Pemberton,[1] Anthony Benezet and others. After meeting we were introduced by Anna Rodman to her relations of the same name, and an invitation to dinner. It is about four miles and a half out of Flushing, and a most beautiful road. The roads around Flushing look like pleasant walks of a two chair width, fenced by low stone walls with trees planted along them or fine Prims [sic] hedge. This road to Rodman's in particular is pleasant by reason of fine rising hills, which give a view of the bay and the country clothed at this time in beautiful fields of grain and pasturing. There was likewise a fine piece of woods so clear from brush underneath and covered with grass, that it seemed to invite one to a cool retreat from the noontide ray. The house is close by, yet within a good distance from the inlet of the bay on which it stands. The family then consisted of the old gentleman and lady, Catharine, Caroline and Penelope their daughters, and John and Thomas their sons, and they live in a genteel manner. From the door there is a good prospect of the bay and big island, with pretty rising hills cov-

[1] James Pemberton was a prominent citizen of Philadelphia, and an active member of the Society of Friends. He was one of those exiled to Virginia during the Revolutionary war for supposed royalist sympathies. His second wife was Sarah Smith, a first cousin of Hannah Callender, to whom he was married in March, 1768. A daughter by this marriage married Anthony Morris, eldest son of Captain Samuel Morris, and was grandmother of P. Pemberton Morris, Esq., lately deceased. James Pemberton died in 1809, at an advanced age.

ered with trees. Seaman Rodman, R. Smith and Anna and Betsy Rodman dined there with another of their uncles. Afternoon we all went to Charles Hicks', a little further on the same inlet, a gentleman that married one of the Rodmans and lives in a very genteel manner. There a shower of rain detained us all night. The evening considering so large a company was spent pleasantly. I never was of the opinion that numbers increased the pleasure of conversation, but in the select few dwells the rational pleasure.

2d day.—Charles Hicks was a Yorker. He lived with Walton and from him went to the Havana, Lugan and among the Spaniards, till he had acquired a fortune. By persuasion he is Church of England. Seeing —— Rodman liked her and they married. A reconciliation of friends followed, and now they jog on in the good old matrimonial way. In his person he is tall and [slim]. His face is not handsome, but a large wig and hat, joined to a blue long skirted coat instantly makes you think of a parson. In his temper there is a fund of humor, which diverted me several times, especially in the morning his inquiry after our dreams the previous night. They had several pretty little girls. The rest of our company came and breakfasted with us. Then set out for Rodman's again, where we stayed till meeting time. Hannah Bound [Bowne] was there and Anna put on more youthful airs than was agreeable to me. She and I rode in a chair together to meeting. [After meeting] our own company with R. Smith returned to Samuel Bound's [Bowne], where we dined. Phebe and Patty Townsend from Oyster Bay were there.

3d day.—We parted from Samuel Bound's [Bowne] family, excepting Samuel and Abby Bound [Bowne], who went with us and went to Rockaway. It is a beautiful road, with fine flocks of sheep [in sight] till we come to the edge of the plains where we stopped to dine, and were met by the Rodmans [and some others]. Afternoon crossed the plains to Hamstead [Hempstead]. Flocks of sheep and cattle are brought by their owners in the spring, marked and go to feed on the plains till fall, when they meet and every one takes his own.

Hamstead is a small village, where we inquired the road to Rockaway, and found we had come a good deal out of our way, to the diversion of some of the company. We then followed directions, as we thought, but it led us against a fence. We turned and went laughing on till we got the right [road] and proceeded down to Richard Cornwall's, at the beach (which is thirty miles from Flushing). We inquired the nearest way to it, which was about a mile or two. But going through the woods, Thomas Franklin and Caroline Rodman, who were partly the first and in discourse with the chair behind the other, overset by a stump which alarmed me much. But neither received any hurt. Thomas got up, shook himself and looked as if he had not a word to say. We had not gone a hundred yards further, before R. Smith in the foremost chair made a full stop, which jammed the chairs back one upon another unavoidably and threw me upon the fore part of the chair. I told [my companion] I would go no further that night, and desired him to turn about to the first hospitable house.

4th day morning.—We went to see a curious Indian Wigwam, made of reeds wrought into mats, laid one over the other so compactly as to keep out the weather. The door was straw, hinges of the same: the fire place in the middle and an open place in the top: berths around the room for lodging, on one of which the old man, father of the family lay. He had almost lost the use of his limbs last year by hardship at Oswego. The mother was pounding corn on a stone worn hollow like a mortar. Milk in a conch shell. The rest of the things agreeable to these. They had three children, and thus lived these ancient tenants of the land! From thence went to the beach. The fine white sand along it is so hard, that riding makes no impression on it. We rode several miles sometimes in the waves, which seem to meet you as though they would overwhelm. There are beacons placed on a hill to alarm the country in case of an invasion. We saw some ships out at sea, which looks of a green cast. The hills of Shrewsbury appeared at a vast distance. The riding is so fine that there are often great

wagers won by racing. We bade adieu to one of the most glorious sights my eyes ever beheld and rode through a pleasant country to Jamaica, where we dined. After dinner the company was full of mirth. J. R. inquiring how I liked the country, told me there was a place just by called Horsemanden's folly or Mount Lookout, built round the body of a large tree to a great height, ascended by winding stairs. At the top it is floored and there is a table, half a dozen may drink tea on comfortably. I said I had a great desire to see it, and run from this crazy company. We went to a chair and got in. It soon took wind where we were going, and the rest followed. Eighteen in so small a place made some of them fearful. The prospect was as far as the ken of sight. We saw the beach we had that morning been on. They look out for shipping here. [Leaving this place] we rode to the half-way house, and drank tea: from thence pleasantly to York ferry, from whence there is a good view of York from the South part, and the shipping, divers country seats on Long Island and about York, one built by a brewer entirely from the profits of yeast. We landed about seven o'clock.

6th day morning.—Walked along the North River; the Jersey shore opposite is very high and rocky. I think the prospects of North and South rivers with the prospect from the fort, of the Islands, Sandy Hook at a distance, &c, form a finer view than I ever saw before. We went to the Mead Houses. [Mead is] a sort of liquor made of honey which is weak and has a pleasant taste. There is a row of neat wooden houses a little within the palisadoes called the Mead houses, where it is customary to drink this liquor and eat cakes.

6th mo., 2d day.—[In company with several others] took a walk to Bayard's country seat. He was so complaisant as to ask us in his garden. The front of the house faces the great road, about a quarter of a mile distant. A fine walk of locust trees now in full bloom perfumes the air. A beautiful wood on one side and a garden for both use and ornament on the other, from which you see the City at a great distance. Good out-houses the back part. They have

no gardens in or about New York which come up to ours of Philadelphia.

5th day.—[The party had] breakfast at the Glass House in Greenage [Greenwich], a pleasant place about three miles from York along the North River. From thence took the road to Kingsbridge in view of several fine country seats to Morrisania. Rode through a fine Laurel swamp all in bloom where we gave ourselves the Palm. On many of the rising hills, the winding little river is seen that goes from York to Kingsbridge and divides the counties. The tavern is prettily situated at the foot of a hill, the little river meandering through a meadow before it. High lands of woods and plains with cattle grazing make a complete landscape. We were well entertained and a kind Dutchman that kept the house, would have our names down and he would send us some sweethearts! We rode over the new bridge [across the stream] which parts York Island from the adjoining counties and a little way round to the old bridge, that we might say that we had been through York Island. From hence we rode to Hell Gate or Hoarnshook and drank tea. The house and appurtenances with the water looked so calm, that I was for reversing the name; but they tell me 'tis not so always. This is the New England channel for small craft. There is a spot which boils like a pool continually, and there have been instances of small boats perishing. This occasioned its name from a vulgar apprehension. There was a great deal of company at the house. There is but one road out of York and [it passes through] those three places we have seen to-day. [It is] the most frequent ride of people from the City. We had the South River in view returning, so that we had been the length and almost the breadth of York Island.

6th day.—Went to visit —— Wright. The house is at the corner of Wall Street and Queen Street opposite the Coffee House and juts into the street a little; the parlor up stairs.

7th day.—Walked up the North River to a fine high hill. Sat in a bower and drank some sangaree. Saw the remains of a battery made last war. The Palisadoes as they call

them are stakes driven thick in the earth at some distance from York and reach from North to South Rivers. There are two gates which used to be watched, but [now] partly gone to ruin. The space within the palisadoes is called the fields, and outside the Commons: in the fields there is a handsome building called a Work-house (but it is for lunatics also), and a neat building just finished for a jail. There is a college begun, but it has got into party and I doubt not will make no figure.

7th day.—Went to see English Churches. The old one in the Broadway [Trinity] is a rich Church tolerably well built and stands in a beautiful spot. Fine large trees before it compose a walk for the length of a square, which is the burial ground. The whole look of the street is pleasant. You would imagine yourself in some City in England. Quite still from business and not as in the midst of a great city. The New Church or St. George's Chapel stands in the upper part of the town, in the street called after it the New Church Street. It is a neat plain building with pretty palisadoes and trees planted round it. From the steeple there is a full view of York. I don't imagine it stands on above half the ground of Philadelphia, but the houses are very thick and there may be as many souls in it. The new Dutch Church is also a pleasant building. The method of having a court and planting trees around their buildings is very pretty. The Exchange is lately built but not well executed. It stands at the foot of Broad Street close by the South River, and at the head of Broad Street is the City Hall, which to meet made me think of one of the gates of London. Afternoon.—Rode to Kilby's place at Greenwich. There is a most beautiful water view down the North River to Sandy Hook. Several vessels coming in and I believe thirty, big and little to be seen. The many little islands make those rivers beautiful. From thence to Oliver Delaney's place Blomandol [Bloomingdale], which is a handsome house built in good taste of stone, whited. About a mile beyond stopped at a country house, got a good drink of buttermilk and turned toward York across the hills and plains to the main road

which for three miles from York presents a fine landscape. A good many pretty country seats, in particular Murrey's, a fine brick house and the whole plantation in good order. We rode under the finest row of Buttonwoods I ever saw. The Governor, James Delancey, lives in a good house about a quarter of a mile from York.

2d day.—[Sundry friends] went to White Hall stairs with us and took boat for Watson's ferry. Crossed the ferry. In three quarters of an hour we went nine miles, the pleasantest sail I ever had both for good wind and fine prospect. Nuttur [Nutting] Island, Staten Island, Long Island—divers privateers and other vessels lying among them—in short new beauties opening upon me every moment. After dinner we set out in the stage. We stopped at a house intending to drink tea but it looked dirty and we did not. Stopped upon a hill about the middle of the island for a view out to sea. We saw a sheep with four horns all of them at full growth. Looking like for rain we proceeded to the end of Staten Island without stopping, where we stayed that night and slept in our clothes for the bugs were so thick we could not go to bed—but we were merry over our affliction.

3d day morning.—Six o'clock crossed the ferry. Breakfasted at the house opposite Amboy. From thence our own particular company which was very agreeable, set out for Cranberry. We dined at Prigmore's and set out again and got to Crosswicks by five o'clock, where we had a comfortable dish of tea and concluded to stay all night. The people are clever and we stayed with satisfaction.

4th day morning.—Starting at half past four o'clock, we had a most beautiful ride to Burlington by eight o'clock [where she remained with relatives till the day after].

5th day.—Went to Philadelphia in three hours by water.

6th day.—Charles Norris is married to Polly Parker—a great deal of money on both sides.

7th mo., 5th day.—Capt. Stirling lies down at Chester in a forty gun ship, the first that ever came so far up our river.

8th mo., 4th day.—Father and I went to the Plantation. The place looks beautiful. The plot belonging to father contains

60 acres, 30 of upland and 30 of meadow, which runs along the side of the river Delaware. Half the upland is a fine woods, the other orchard and garden. A little house is in the midst of the garden [which is] interspersed with fruit trees. The main garden lies along by the meadow. By three descents of grass steps, you are led to the bottom in a walk lengthways of the garden. On one side a fine cut hedge encloses from the meadow, the other a high green bank shaded with spruce, the meadows and river lying open to the eye, looking to the house covered with trees: honeysuckle on the fences, low hedges to part the flower and kitchen gardens, and a fine barn just at the side of the wood. A small space of woods around it is cleared from brush underneath. The whole a little romantic rural scene.[1]

1761, *8th mo.* 26.—Parents consenting Anna Pole, Betsy Bringhurst, H. Callender, James Bringhurst and Samuel Sansom, set out for Bethlehem and the country adjacent, intending a tour of a week or ten days in a complete light wagon (for a pair of horses) made by James Bringhurst. We rode agreeably to Germantown seven miles. Dined at Maconet's, observed the new college, a neat building for the education of youth [now the Germantown Academy]. Two o'clock we set off again. Found Chestnut Hill long and difficult. William Allen has a large stone house on the top. We met with a complaisant Dutchman, a wagoner, going through White Marsh. Passed Rowland Evans' and about six o'clock rode pleasantly down a fine descending lane to the widow Evans' (Widow of the worthy John Evans who now lives with her son John Evans) distance thirteen miles. In a little time after Anthony Benezet and Robert Parrish arrived from Bethlehem, having been so far with the friendly Indians Paponon[2] &c. on their way home.

[1] This place was known in Hannah Callender's family as "Richmond Seat." The present Port Richmond is the same site.

[2] Papoonhank (whose name is written variously Papoonhoal, Wampoonham, Papoonhang, and Papoonham) was chief of the Minsis living on the Susquehanna, in the present Bradford County. He was baptized

They brought an account that the people were apprehensive the Indians intended to strike a blow soon, which had set them in an alarm, but they thought we might safely proceed.

8th mo. 27.—Between 5 and 6 o'clock in the morning rode through a fine country thickly inhabited to Trostrum's, eight miles and breakfasted. Proceeded through a very stony road ten miles to Insley's, thence seven miles to Jetter's. Drank part of a poor dish of tea, yet it refreshed us from a fright we put ourselves in on the road. Now we began to see the mountains at a distance. In five miles we got to another public house, but a very poor one. Proceeded the other five to Bethlehem being almost night. You ride a little way along the banks of the Lechia [Lehigh] to a tavern[1] opposite the town. Here we began to see the manners of the people, complacent mild and affable. All their buildings and things for use are made strong and lasting. Crossed the river. The Brethren's House made a pretty illumination. Walked a quarter of a mile to the Inn in Bethlehem. Passed by the stables which were struck with lightning last year. The house is kept by Peter Worbas during good behaviour: all its profits go to the common stock.[2] Charles Stedman and Seaman just arrived before us from Grayam [Græme] Park. We had an elegant supper and diligent waiters.

8th mo. 28.—Waked in the morning by one hundred cows, a number of them with bells, a venerable goat and two she goats driven in town by two sisters. This order was continued morning and evening during the time we stayed and looked very pretty. We breakfasted and set off for

by Zeisberger, and received the name of John, and was known thereafter as "Minsi John." He continued with the Moravian mission to his death.

[1] The "Crown Inn," the first public house of entertainment erected by the Moravians on the Lehigh River. The "Union Depot" in South Bethlehem covers the site.

[2] The "Sun Inn," which is still one of the prominent hostleries of Bethlehem. Peter Worbas, its first landlord, was one of the five who escaped when the mission-house at Gnadenhütten, on the Mahoning, was destroyed by Indians in November of 1755.

Nazareth, 9 miles distant, in company with C. Stedman, Seaman Jones, and two waiting men. Nazareth is a fine farm where the widows and boys reside. In the widows' meeting room are two pieces of painting, the birth and death of our Saviour. We asked for the widow Brownfield.[1] She came and expressed great satisfaction at seeing us. Then we crossed a field or two to the boys' house. This was built as a habitation for Count Zinzendorf—a large spacious stone house [Nazareth Hall]. Ascending by a flight of steps into a large hall used for worship, the minister our guide played on the organ. Passed through the children's eating rooms [which contain] long narrow tables with benches covered with coarse cloth and wooden trenchers. They were not so clean as all the rest. Up stairs are the School-rooms. One room children between three and four years old picking cotton, so orderly and still. For any noise they made you might have been in an empty room. The next two [rooms contained children] between five and six years old knitting. In the fourth [room] were children between seven and eight years old spinning. In the fifth and last [room children were] employed at their books. Pieces of their writing were fixed on the wall to raise emulation. Fourteen children in each room. The children's meeting room is a large hall on the same floor adorned with six pieces of painting [illustrating] the life of our Saviour, representing him at full length. The third story is the bed room containing one hundred beds for one person each. Two brethren by turns keep nightly watch with lamps burning. The great order, decency, decorum and convenience, is hardly to be expressed. We left this pleasant place with due thanks to the minister, going one mile beyond to dine at a tavern.[2] Several Indians were at the house and things

[1] Catherine, daughter of Thomas and Catherine (maiden name Bourroux) Kearney, born in New York, February, 1716, united with the Moravians in 1745. In 1747 she married John Brownfield, formerly secretary to General Oglethorpe. She died in April of 1798, at Bethlehem.

[2] "The Rose" (from 1752 to 1770), the first house of entertainment on the "Barony of Nazareth."

carried a solemn aspect. In the war it had been a place of defence or retreat for the neighborhood. This last rumor had brought a family from twenty miles beyond and they themselves in much fear. After dinner [went] two miles to Gnadenthal.[1] Went into the meeting room [and saw] two pieces of painting, the birth and death of our Saviour. Some women kindly treated us with peaches. Got in the wagon and at a small distance reached Christian's Spring. This is the residence of the younger single brethren. Admired their water-works milk-house and fine oxen. Went down steps to the spring from whence the place took its name.[2] Drank of the Castalian fount. Being walled in a sort of room and very nice gave it a romantic air. Drank a dish of tea in the Guardian's room opposite the single brethren's chambers, who pleased and diverted themselves by looking at us.

Returned to Bethlehem. At the top of a hill just as you enter the town a prospect of the gaps in the mountains at a vast distance and the length of forty miles from each other. Supped at Worbas's.

8th mo. 29.—Rose with the cows. Lovely fine prospect. The bell calling the sisters to prayers. All the company breakfasted together in the large right hand room up one pair of stairs. We walked into the town. At the foot of the hill we met Nicholas Garrison, who introduced us with form to his wife.[3] Gracy [Garrison] received us with freedom. We had gone to school with each other. Here we parted with the men and had no more to do with them being delivered

[1] See p. 396.

[2] Christian's Spring was named for Christian R., a son of Count Zinzendorf. The diary of the congregation contains a record of the visit of this "company of Quakers from Philadelphia to view our settlement," and furthermore, "they were shown the tame trout in the spring, who were fed by hand, and would allow Bro. S. to take them from the water." Within the year Brother S. removed to North Carolina, and his pets soon after died.

[3] See "A Register of Members of the Moravian Church, 1727–1754," by Rev. Abraham Reincke, pp. 55, 56, published by the Moravian Historical Society.

to the sisters. Sister Becky Langly came there. We went from hence with them to the meeting room. [Here we saw] nine pieces of painting of the life of our Saviour. Met sister Miller[1] a married sister, and Sister Polly Penry. As we had gone to school together and I knew the history of her unfortunate life [we were] greatly affected at seeing each other. Walked up the single sisters' walk (a quarter of a mile long) adorned with two rows of black cherry trees to the Monachosee [Monocacy] creek. Here Becky Langly and I by free conversation became acquainted. She was a lace merchant's daughter in London, brought up at boarding school genteelly, as her agreeable person with ease grace and affability were convincing proofs. She had been at court several times with her mother, but having great cause when young to regret her loss. The father, Becky, and a younger sister, came to America and [the sisters] are placed here as an asylum from further storms. The good man is a citizen of the world and makes his home wherever it is his lot. Nancy Langly has not seen so much of the world as to forsake it with the resolution of a philosopher. Becky and Polly Penry enjoy a strict friendship. Extended our walk along the creek to the Wash-house, Dye-house, Bleaching Yard, Saw-mill &c., Sister Miller and Betsy Bringhurst going a little before us. Sister Garrison with good humor gave us girls leave to step across a field to a little island belonging to the single brethren. On it is a neat summer house with seats of turf and buttonwood trees around it. The Monachosee [Monocacy] laves its foot. We brought little cups in our pockets from Philadelphia and here drank peace and tranqility to each other. Walked to the oil-mill, fullers, butchers, millers and milk-house. Parted with the sisters and went to the Inn highly delighted. After dinner Nicholas and Gracy Garrison came to the Inn and waited on us down to the children's meeting. The meeting held half an hour. [The service] consisted of singing, playing on the organ and a short sermon in German by a minister. We drank tea with the sisters in an outer room. They begged to be excused from

[1] Wife of Henry Miller, the German printer, of Philadelphia.

taking us to their apartments. In the evening we were at the love feast. The men and women there meet altogether, the men on one side and the women on the other, going in at different doors to prevent communication. Brothers waited on the men and Sisters on the women. Two persons brought in large baskets with small loaves of bread, distributing to every one, one [and to] each person a small cup of chocolate. Returned to the Inn and lodged.

8th mo. 30.—Ten o'clock we girls met Sister Miller, Becky, and Polly, at the gate leading to the women's house and went to meeting. The minister spoke in English. The minister, Hyde,[1] is their limner who executed all the paintings.[2]

1762, *6th mo.*, *2d day.*—I went to Edgeley. Walked agreeably down to Schuylkill along its banks adorned with native beauty, interspersed with little dwelling houses at the foot of hills covered by trees. On entering one you find nothing but an earthen cup, a broken dish, a calabash, and a wooden platter. Ascending a high hill into the road by the Robin Hood, went to the widow Francis's place. She was there and behaved kindly. The house stands fine and high, the back is adorned by a fine prospect. Peters's House [now Belmont], Smith's Octagon, Baynton's House &c. and a genteel garden, with serpentine walks and low hedge. At the foot you descend by slopes to a lawn, in the middle [of which] stands a summer house [covered with] honeysuckle &c. Then you descend by slopes to the edge of the hill terminated by a fence for security, [the bank] being high and almost perpendicular [with] rocks and shrubs that diversify the scene.

In afternoon [in company with several others] set out for

[1] Valentine Haidt, a native of Dantzic, in 1714 went to Dresden to study painting, which he continued in the schools at Venice, Rome, and Paris. After uniting with the Moravians in Germany, he executed a series of historical paintings still extant. In 1754 he was sent to Pennsylvania, where he entered the ministry of his church, and passed his remaining years between the pulpit and the easel. He died at Bethlehem, 18th January, 1780.

[2] The entries in the journal relative to the journey to Bethlehem close here.

Germantown by the falls. Some mirth on the road by female fears. Passed Pemberton's place and the new college. Arrived safe at Maconet's. From thence to a neighboring house to see some models in architecture done by an illiterate shoemaker, intended when put together as a representation of Jerusalem. . . . I shall mention the houses of most note. The Temple of Solomon about one yard high, three quarters long and half a yard deep. Noble entrances on both fronts and sides, all different orders with their proper embellishments. In the balcony of the first battlement are four Priests blowing trumpets. It has a fine steeple and is enclosed by three courts, having twelve gates adorned with cherubim and angels. [There are] twelve magnificent towers at the corners of the courts, the whole a yard and a half square.

Solomon's house in the forest, built on a high green hill ascended by one hundred steps, is a noble looking pleasure house. It joins the first battlement of the temple by a balcony supported by large columns. King David's Palace with its towers. [Then follows brief mention of models of thirteen other buildings in Jerusalem.] A pleasant ride home by Vanderin's [Van Deren's] mill without accident completed the tour.

4th day.—After breakfast [several friends came] and we all went down to Schuylkill delighted with the plain at the foot of the hill. Joshua —— has a convenient fishing boat locked to a tree. This tempted our inclination for a ramble on the other side. S. went for the key and oars and a man to help. He returned with the key but no oars or assistant. [Three of us] determined like the poor disappointed shepherd to trust a strong rail for a sculler. We landed safe. Borrowed at a neighboring house a sculler and calabash to bail the water out of the boat which came from the rain the day before and returned for the rest. We marched along the shore to the road leading to Peters's. Going by the side of a limpid rill, passed a stone quarry and called to see some Welch people. Then went to William Peters's house having some acquaintance with his wife. She was at home

and with her daughter Polly received us kindly in one wing of the house. After a while passed through a covered passage to the large hall well furnished, the top adorned with instruments of music, coat of arms, crests and other ornaments in stucco, its sides by paintings and statues in bronze. From the front of this hall you have a prospect bounded by the Jerseys like a blue ridge. A broad walk of English Cherry trees leads down to the river. The doors of the house opening opposite admit a prospect of the length of the garden over a broad gravel walk to a large handsome summer house on a green. From the windows a vista is terminated by an obelisk. On the right you enter a labyrinth of hedge of low cedar and spruce. In the middle stands a statue of Apollo. In the garden are statues of Diana, Fame and Mercury with urns. We left the garden for a wood cut into vistas. In the midst is a Chinese temple for a summer house. One avenue gives a fine prospect of the City. With a spy glass you discern the houses and hospital distinctly. Another avenue looks to the obelisk. Returned to the house and rested agreeably and departed. Returned pleasantly to the boat and behold Schuylkill had left her high and dry on land to our mortification. . . . At a house we learned it was half a mile to the ferry and we walked it cheerfully and agreeably. Baynton and Wharton's house at the foot of the hill is a pretty one adorned with a green and clumps of trees. They have a private ferry. We passed safely after the method of Schuylkill with a boat and rope. Winding around the foot of a hill covered with rocks, shrubs and earth we opened on a neat little hut surrounded with trees, inhabited by an old woman and her daughter, the pictures of good nature, hospitality and honest simplicity. A seat on their bench with a cordial draught of water introduced conversation. [Our friends] having got intelligence of us brought our chairs, when leaving our good hostess we went to Edgeley dined and took leave for town.

7th mo., 2d day.—The Queen's company are here at the Barracks. Their clothing is romantic green with yellow buttons, button holes and green caps dressed with feathers

and flowers. In front of the cap is Latin Per Sylvas. The fife and drum make an agreeable harmony.

5th day.—[With several friends] in a couple of light wagons went to see the Hermit in a wood this side of Mount Holly. He is a person thought to have travelled along from Canada or the Mississippi about ten years ago, living in the woods ever since partly on the charity of the neighborhood and partly on the fruits of the earth. He talks no English and will give no account of himself.

AMERICAN COLONIES AS PENAL SETTLEMENTS.

BY CHARLES J. STILLÉ, LL.D.

In the October number of the *English Historical Review* an attempt is made to show that the original design in the settlement of Australia was to found there a free colony rather than a penal establishment for the reception of English convicts. On this side of the water we are not much interested in such a question, and we do not therefore propose to discuss it here. The writer of the article in the *Review*, however, in explaining how it happened that Australia was selected by the English government in 1786 as a proper place for the confinement of those convicts whom it thought proper to transport as a punishment for their crimes, gives us some information concerning the general policy of the government on this subject and its history which must appear to most Americans strange and novel. He tells us in plain terms that the choice of "Botany Bay," as the place was commonly called, to which those who had been convicted in England of the most heinous crimes were to be transported and confined, was forced upon the government by the revolt of the American colonies to which—that is, to all of them—this class of her people had been sent—or, as he expresses it, had been "shovelled off"—before the Revolution. He tells us, however, that for these purposes Botany Bay was intended as a substitute for these American colonies; "that their loss at the period of the Revolution deprived the home country of its main outlet for the outscourings of its gaols, and that their revolt at once destroyed one of the subsidiary uses for which they had been employed," and he gives us to understand that such is the general belief by referring us to an epigram which describes the difference between the settlement of the American colonies and of Australia as con-

sisting "in the peopling of America by fugitives from the law, while that of Australia was due to criminals despatched by the law." In short, the writer of the article seems to think that the race which peopled the American colonies was infected with the same ineradicable taint of crime and villany for which the larger portion of the population of Australia—its convict class—during more than eighty years were deservedly stigmatized. All this seems, as I have said, strange and novel to a student of American history. He has heard many harsh sayings from Englishmen about the character of the early settlers of this country; he remembers that many years ago it was gravely proposed in an English periodical that Americans who were supposed to be too curious in the search for family coats of arms in the Herald's office should be presented with a copy of the Newgate calendar as the truest record of the achievements of their forefathers; but he, supposing that some knowledge of the general facts of American history had at last reached English writers, is startled to find that ignorance on this subject appears as great and as invincible as ever.

In order to show to what sort of people those who settled the American colonies are likened, and the strange disposition which prevails to call very different things by the same name, a few words on the establishment and history of the penal settlement of Australia may not be out of place. The first vessels bearing English convicts arrived in New South Wales in 1787. The whole number transported in that year and within the next few years was about twenty-five hundred, of whom sixty-eight were females. The whole number sent from 1787 to 1868 to Australia was one hundred and thirty-nine thousand one hundred and sixty-one ("Australian Dates and Men of the Time"). The number of free settlers who went out with the first shipment of convicts was very small, only eighty-four. The convicts were transported by virtue of an act of Parliament, passed in 1784, which provided that those who had been adjudged guilty of certain offences should be transported to such places as the Privy Council should select. In twenty years from the

first settlement it was found that the number of convicts and of the free population in New South Wales was about equal,—nine thousand each. The criminals after their arrival, and always afterwards, remained under the general control of the agents of the home government. The larger portion of them, however, were assigned, as it was called, to the free settlers, during the term of their sentence, as domestic or agricultural servants, the government retaining the power of summarily punishing them for misconduct either by whipping or confinement in prison. Their treatment depended much on the discretion of the authorities and upon the humanity of their masters. The assignment of the convicts as servants to the settlers and their consequent distribution throughout the colony proved fatal to all the hopes which had been entertained that this system would aid in developing the resources of the colony, and gradually work the reformation of the convicts themselves. On the contrary, the result was that the contagion of their evil habits and dispositions spread everywhere, like some terrible and ineradicable plague, and produced for more than fifty years a condition of society more horrible than that existing in any place ruled by a civilized people. So far from the convicts becoming absorbed by the free population and becoming reformed and decent in their lives while in the condition of comparative freedom, their vicious propensities were only stimulated by the opportunities for indulgence, and they could be kept in order only by the constant use of the lash and by the exercise of the strictest military control. There is abundant evidence of their utter depravity.

Says McCarthy ("History of our own Times," p. 28): "The convicts who had been in the hulks or prisons generally left those homes of horror with natures so brutalized as to make their intrusion into any decent community an insufferable nuisance. Pent up in penal settlements by themselves, the convicts turned into demons; drafted into an inhabited colony they were too numerous to be wholly absorbed by the population, and they carried their contagion along with them." In the report of the Select Committee

of the House of Commons on Transportation, made in 1838, it is said with reference to the demoralization of society in Australia caused by the introduction of convicts into it that "the number of convictions for highway robbery alone in that colony exceeded the whole number of convictions for all crimes in England; that crime had increased in New South Wales in a greater ratio than the population, indicating the progressive demoralization of both bond and free, and that more immorality prevailed in Sydney than in any other town of its size in the British dominions," and many more horrible details are given in the report by way of confirmation. It is to be observed that all this was occasioned not by the mere presence of convicts in the colony, but because vast numbers of them were distributed as servants among the free population, and were employed by the government in many important positions after they were supposed to have reformed. The free element in the population was so feeble that it could not assimilate the convict element, but, on the contrary, was every year more and more demoralized and brutalized by it. This was the germ or tap-root of all the evils which afflicted the colony and brought it to such a condition that the English government was forced at last to abandon the transportation of convicts to Australia.

No such consequences followed the modified form of this mode of punishing offences which was adopted when it was determined to send offenders to the American colonies. Virginia was the only colony to which this class of people was ever sent. In the early history of that colony there was a great demand for laborers in the tobacco-fields, and the colonists welcomed a supply from whatever quarter it might come. In 1619, James I. issued an order that certain vile and dissolute persons who swarmed the streets of London should be arrested and sent to Virginia. The city companies, at the request of the Lord Mayor, voted a considerable sum towards paying the expenses of their shipment, and at the same time determined to send a hundred destitute children with them. In 1687, Judge Jeffries sent a large

number of those who had been convicted of rebellion in the Monmouth insurrection to Virginia, but these were afterwards pardoned and returned from exile. The position of these people in Virginia was that of "conditional servitude." Their transportation was considered as a mitigation of their punishment, and they became a mere fragmentary portion in Virginia society, and were readily absorbed into the poor, but not necessarily criminal, part of the population. A certain sum was paid by the planters to secure the services of these convicts, or servants, as they were called, for a fixed period,—the term of their sentence,—and afterwards they were freemen. They were indentured to their masters, and scattered through the colony, and there is no record of acts of lawlessness committed by them as a class. The code by which they were governed was wholly different from that by which the slaves around them were ruled. If they had proved in any way dangerous to the peace and good order of the community we should not find such statutes as the following among the Virginia laws enacted between 1662 and 1665: "Masters shall provide for their servants competent diet, lodging, and clothing, and in case of neglect or bad treatment the servant shall make complaint to the commissioner, and the case shall be tried at the next County Court." "Any servant who shall lay violent hands upon his master or mistress, being convicted thereof, shall serve them one year beyond the term." (Penalty for the same offence in case of a slave, death.) "Servants shall be permitted to dispose of articles brought with them and of those consigned to them by their friends."

As to the character of the persons transported to Virginia, as judged by the nature of their offences, it would seem that by the acts of 18 and 22 Charles II., those convicted of the vast number of offences which under the bloody code then in force were punishable by death were offered the alternative of transportation "to any of His Majesty's domains in America, there to remain and not to return." An important change was made in 1717 by the act of 4 George I. The preamble to this act, after reciting,

inter alia, that in many of his Majesty's colonies there is a great want of servants, etc., provides that "when any person has been convicted of any offence *within the benefit of clergy* before January 30, 1717, and is liable to be whipped or burned in the hand or sent to the work-house or any prison, or when any person shall be convicted of grand or petit larceny, or felonious stealing from the house or person of another," then the court, in lieu of the burning, etc., may order such offenders to be transported to the colonies for seven years. Those who understand the distinction between "clergyable and non-clergyable" crimes and remember how many suffered death for trivial offences under the old penal system, because they were unable to read, will regard this statute in one of its aspects as a merciful provision, intended to save the lives of petty criminals, and make them useful as laborers in the Virginia tobacco-fields. At some later day (I have not been able to discover when, but certainly after the American Revolution) a change was made in the law enlarging the number of crimes for which transportation had been employed as a punishment. Thus we find that in 1779 one John Cyre, stated to be a man of fortune, was sentenced to transportation to Australia for seven years for stealing a few quires of note-paper ("Australian Dates and Men of the Time," p. 277), and many persons guilty of crimes both "clergyable and non-clergyable," were in like manner sent thither.

In regard to the number sent here we have the valuable testimony taken by a committee appointed by the House of Commons in 1779 to determine what should be done with the English convicts, the colonies being in revolt, and of course closed against the introduction of this class of people. In the *Journal of the House of Commons*, XXXVII. p. 310, we find the following remarkable statement:

Duncan Campbell, a witness before the committee, said: "I have been concerned for twenty years as a Contractor for Felons sentenced to transportation. I paid £5 per man. I disposed of their servitude in the Colonies. With those who had money their punishment was only banishment

during the term of the sentence. I carried the Convicts only to the provinces of Virginia and Maryland. The males (not artificers) brought £10, Mechanics £15 to £25. Upon being asked whether they could be disposed of in any other of the Colonies, he said No. He had been unwilling to renew his contract after Virginia and Maryland had revolted. One hundred might be disposed of in Georgia and the frontier of Florida, none in Canada. He had transported on an average of seven years four hundred and seventy-three convicts annually."

From the foregoing account it would appear that the transportation of convicts to Virginia and Maryland (for it seems they were sent to the latter colony also, although there is no American record of the fact), both in its design and in its results, differed from transportation to Australia, and that so far was the one from being a substitute for the other that the system adopted after the American Revolution was wholly a novel experiment, which proved a lamentable failure.

The following points of difference in the two systems are noteworthy:

1. The number sent to Virginia was very small as compared with those sent to Australia, and hence the demoralization of the free population when brought into contact with the convicts in the labor market was avoided.

2. The care of the convicts was not placed in the hands of the agents of the home government. There is no record of any "servant" in Virginia being placed in public positions of trust and honor after the expiration of his sentence, either by the home or colonial government, as in New South Wales, nor of any riotous or lawless disposition manifested by them as a class.

3. The character of those sent to Virginia, judging by their offences, which were all "clergyable," could not have been so infamous and desperate as was commonly found in those sent to Australia.

4. There never was any penal settlement of convicts here, or settlement of any kind made up of such persons, and

thus no opportunities were afforded of organizing mischief.

The conclusion which we reach, then, is that this class of people exercised no discernible influence either for good or for evil in Virginia society. They resembled in their *status* the Redemptioners, who by their own contract were sold for a limited time after their arrival to those who were willing to pay a certain sum for their labor, which was applied to cover the expenses of their voyage. These Redemptioners (as is well known) and their descendants became one of the most valuable elements in the population of the States in which they settled, and doubtless, could we trace the history of the children of the "convict servants," we should find that Virginia, since as well as before the Revolution, has had no reason to complain of them.

JUDGE JAMES MOORE AND MAJOR JAMES MOORE, OF CHESTER COUNTY, PENNSYLVANIA.

BY W. S. LONG, M.D.

(Concluded from page 309.)

Major James Moore, who was probably the second son of Judge Moore, was born in Chester County about 1756. He received a preparatory training in classical and scientific branches, and it is believed attended lectures at the College of Philadelphia. At the call to arms, in 1775, he quickly responded, and, on the recommendation of the Committee of Safety, was appointed, January 5, 1776, captain[1] of the Seventh Company in the Fourth Battalion, under Colonel Anthony Wayne. From their rendezvous at Chester, Pennsylvania, on February 9, 1776, this regiment was sent to New York, and, with other Pennsylvania regiments under Colonels St. Clair and Irvine and certain New England troops, was placed under the command of General Sullivan, and ordered by General Washington, on April 26, to invade Canada by way of Lake George and the Sorel. Only three companies of the Fourth Regiment took part in this disastrous campaign, as the remaining four were unprovided with arms, and only rejoined their comrades on July 12, at Fort Ticonderoga, after the retreat.

During the march northward Colonel Wayne detached Captain John Lacey, of the Third Company, and placed it under the command of Captain Moore until July 13. This action of Wayne has been severely criticised by Lacey and his friends, and was ascribed to his arbitrariness and to an undue friendliness to Moore. Wayne apparently never gave his reasons for the temporary change of officers, while Lacey has preserved his record of this and subsequent

[1] "Pennsylvania in the War of the Revolution," Vol. I.

events in a diary or other manuscript, which has at various times been presented, more or less fully, to the public.[1]

At the battle of Trois Rivières, on June 8, the Pennsylvania troops, with Maxwell's New Jersey regiment, bore the brunt of the attack, and were barely able to hold back the advancing British until our army was extricated from its dangerous position and commenced its rapid retreat. Wayne's three companies lost more heavily than any regiment in this attack, and formed the rear-guard until they reached the "Camp at Sorel," where, in speaking of their services, their commander said, . . . "Their spirited conduct in bravely attacking and sustaining the fire from both great and small arms of an enemy more than ten times their number merits his highest approbation. He takes this opportunity of returning thanks to Captains Robinson, Church, and Moore . . . for the part they acted that day, being that of gentlemen and soldiers."[2] Colonel Wayne covered the retreat to Ticonderoga, where they arrived on July 9, "without shoes or stockings and almost in rags." Captain Frazier writes: "The whole of them appeared in a miserable plight from the fatigues and sickness they had undergone, but, compared with the eastern troops, they were robust and healthy."[3] General Sullivan and Colonel Trumbull, both New England men, spoke of the Pennsylvania regiments at the beginning of the campaign as the *élite* and flower of the army.[4]

The term of enlistment of the men expired in January, 1777, and those continuing in the service were transferred with Colonel Wayne to the Fifth Pennsylvania Regiment. Captain Moore had now enlisted for the entire period of the war, and we will very briefly trace his services during this

[1] See "Life of General John Lacey," by Davis; Jones's "Campaign for the Conquest of Canada;" "Pennsylvania in the War of the Revolution," Vol. I. (foot-notes) p. 154.

[2] See Jones's "Campaign," etc., p. 77; "Pennsylvania in the War of the Revolution;" and Dr. Kennedy's "Letters," PENNA. MAG., Vol. VIII. p. 114.

[3] See Jones's "Campaign," etc., p. 107.

[4] Ibid., p. 70.

period. On May 15, 1777, the regiment joined the main army at Morristown, New Jersey, where it had gone into winter-quarters after the battles of Trenton and Princeton. On September 11, Captain Moore participated in the battle of Brandywine. Promoted major of the First Pennsylvania Regiment on September 20,[1] he was in a few hours afterwards involved in the horrible massacre at Paoli. Germantown followed, where Wayne's brigade did valiant service, and then Valley Forge, where Major Moore's name appears several times[2] in General Washington's orders appointing officers for duty in charge of the camp. He was one of the eighteen higher officers of the State regiments who signed the "memorial"[3] to the Executive Council of Pennsylvania, a recapitulation of the terrible hardships endured in that famous camp.

The First Pennsylvania Regiment carried off the honors at the battle of Monmouth, June 28, 1778.[4] The charge of the British Grenadiers was directed against it, and they were handsomely repulsed (despite the opinion of General Charles Lee), with the loss of their colonel and their flag. I have no information as to whether General Wayne made use of this regiment or not at the storming of Stony Point on July 16, 1779. At Arnold's treason, September 24, 1780, when the British were sending a force up the Hudson to capture West Point, General Washington sent a messenger to General Greene, ordering him to send his best-disciplined troops to gain the defile under the Dunderberg before the enemy. The First Pennsylvania Regiment marched immediately, leaving tents standing and guards out. "Our march of sixteen miles was performed in four hours," says General Wayne,[5] "during a dark night, without a single halt or man left behind. When our approach was announced to the

[1] See First Regiment "Orderly Book," MS., Mercantile Library, Phila.

[2] "Records of the Revolutionary War," by W. T. R. Saffell.

[3] "Pennsylvania Archives," 2d Series, Vol. III. p. 201.

[4] "Sketch of Captain William Wilson," PENNA. MAG., Vol. XI. p. 272.

[5] "American Historical Record," Vol. I. p. 435.

general, he thought it fabulous, but when assured of his favorite Tenth Legion being near him, he expressed great satisfaction and pleasure." On December 1, 1780,[1] they went into winter-quarters at Morrisville, New Jersey, and on January 1, 1781, occurred the revolt of the Pennsylvania Line. At the close of February, General Wayne's brigade was sent to York, Pennsylvania, from whence they started, May 26, to join Lafayette in Virginia. A very interesting account of daily events has been preserved in "The Journal of Lieut. Wm. Feltham," of the First Pennsylvania Regiment, from this date to the arrival near Charleston, South Carolina, April 21, 1782, including the siege of Yorktown.

From two letters written by Major Moore we learn that he had charge of a cantonment of troops at Hanover, York County, Pennsylvania, for some time after the departure of the main body from York. In one to General William Irvine,[2] dated August 8, 1781 (PENNA. MAG., Vol. V. p. 263), he dwells strongly on the danger of Cornwallis ascending Chesapeake Bay, and particularly to York, to liberate the British prisoners confined there. Soon after this he rejoined the army and took part in the siege of Yorktown. After the surrender of Cornwallis he went with his regiment to South Carolina.[3] The following are extracts from Feltham's "Journal," December 7 (1781). Major Moore was left near Guilford Court-House in command of the heavy baggage. On February 4, 1782, he rejoined the column at Jacksonborough, near Stono Ferry, with the baggage and two pieces of artillery.

February 22, 1782.—"This evening we had a very agreeable dance at Major Moore's Bowery. A number of ladies came in from the country. Amongst the number were the Miss Couliets, Miss Glover, Miss Williams, the Miss Ellits and

[1] Egle's "History of Pennsylvania," p. 196.

[2] See "Pennsylvania Archives," Vol. IX. p. 285.

[3] For further account of this period see "Journal of Captain John Davis of the First Pennsylvania Regiment," PENNA. MAG., Vol. V. p. 290; "Revolutionary Services of Captain John Markland," Ibid., Vol. IX. p. 109; and "The Delaware Regiment in the Revolution," Ibid., p. 459.

a number of others whose names I cannot recollect. Amongst the number was a Miss Miles who could neither speak nor hear, and could perform her dancing to admiration."

March 15.— . . . "This evening Major Moore with a heavy detachment from the army went to the lines."

From Seymour's "Journal of the Southern Expedition, 1780–1783" (PENNA. MAG., Vol. VII.), are the following extracts:

"On the Sixteenth of March we were joined by a detachment from the main army consisting of two hundred men."

"On the seventeenth marched to the enemies lines [near Charleston], and sent parties to draw them out, but they not advancing, we returned to our encampment" [Bacon's Bridge].

"On the fourth [April, 1782] the detachment under Colonel Moore marched and joined the main army."

General Wayne, on January 1, 1782, had been sent with a small force to Georgia, and in five weeks the British and Tories, who outnumbered his force three times, were driven into Savannah. A detachment from his brigade was sent to him, and family tradition tells us that Major Moore was with him at the siege of that city. He was with his regiment at Ashley Hill, South Carolina, November 29, and on January 31, 1783, at James Island.[1] To Wayne and his brigade was allotted the honor of leading the army into Charleston, December 14, 1782, and we are told that he trod close on the heels of the retiring Britons. From February 1 to March 12, 1783, Major Moore was absent by orders of the deputy adjutant-general *pro tem.*, and on July 31, with his regiment, was at the barracks at Philadelphia.[2] About this time he became a member of the Pennsylvania branch of the Society of the Cincinnati.

Major Moore was now introduced to a new sphere of activity, one in which, so far as I have been able to ascertain from the scanty official records, he acted to the satisfaction of those in authority over him, and yet, in carrying out

[1] Manuscript "Orderly Book" of First Pennsylvania Regiment.
[2] Ibid.

whose orders, he was placed in opposition to the judicial bench of the State, was made responsible for their vacillating proceedings, and was compelled as their agent to bear the dislike and to go down in history—partisan at least—as one of the oppressors of a numerous class who, under better legislation, became worthy citizens of the commonwealth.

At the close of the war the troubles in the Wyoming Valley between claimants under land-titles from Connecticut and those under Pennsylvania jurisdiction, which had remained in abeyance during the conflict, broke out afresh, and for a time civil war on a small scale raged. We do not propose entering into a history of these troubles further than relates immediately to the subject of our sketch. They became so great that the Supreme Executive Council resolved to call for military aid to assist in settling them. John Dickinson, President of the State, was directed to procure the enlistment of two companies of about one hundred and forty-five officers and men for this service. He selected Major Moore for this duty, and in a letter to him, dated September 26, 1783,[1] gives minute instructions for recruiting the men. On October 18 he wrote, "Councils fully confiding in your Integrity, Ability & Industry, commits to you the important charge, the Fort [Dickinson] and Post at Wyoming," etc.[2] Detailed directions as to supplies, route, conduct, etc., follow. The soldiers arrived at the fort on October 29, and, according to Miner,[3] were quartered on the inhabitants, and were insolent in their behavior to the New England claimants. These people petitioned Council for redress, and a committee from the Assembly was appointed to examine into it. Major Moore had not yet arrived, as we learn from a letter from Alexander Patterson to President Dickinson, dated December 20, in which he says, "I am very uneasy having heard nothing of Major Moore. I wish he were here."[4] Moore wrote from Fort Dickinson to the President, December 29; and on June 9, 1784, writes

[1] "Pennsylvania Archives," Vol. X. p. 127.
[2] Ibid., pp. 131, 132.
[3] "History of Wyoming."
[4] Ibid

of a petition being prepared against both civil and military officers for oppressive conduct. "As I am not charged with the shadow of an offense (the measures complained of being done Previous to my arrival), I conceive myself the more at liberty to appear in their Behalf." He alludes to the verbal instructions given to the officers and himself as permitting just such acts as were the cause of petition.[1]

In a letter to President Dickinson, dated February 1, he writes that a member of the committee of investigation told the settlers that they were fools to resign their land. This stirred afresh the embers of discord, and on February 21, President Dickinson writes him to be vigilant and guard against hostile enterprises. April 20, the opposition probably being in the ascendancy, the President notified him that the troops were to be withdrawn and discharged by June 1.[2]

Soon after the writing of this letter, the Pennsylvania settlers appear to have taken the law into their own hands, for they drove off all those who refused to acknowledge allegiance to their State, with the result that their opponents assembled at Abraham's Plains, six miles above the garrison, for the purpose of retaliation.[3] A report of the intended meeting having been received by Moore,—now made lieutenant-colonel,—he detached two parties to enter the plains from different points, at daybreak, and prevent a conflict. Detailed reports,[4] dated May 12, were sent to him by Captain Armstrong and Lieutenant Samuel Reed, who commanded them, in which they report arresting two armed men, apparently sentinels, and the presence of armed bodies of men in the mountains. No blood was shed, and more lawful measures were resorted to.

President Dickinson,[5] on May 25, wrote, instructing him to give notice to the parties concerned in the late disturbance to appear before Judges McKean and Rush of the Supreme

[1] "Pennsylvania Archives," Vol. X. p. 187.

[2] Ibid., Vol. XI. p. 434. Miner, in "History of Wyoming," says June 13.

[3] "Pennsylvania Archives," Vol. XI. p. 436.

[4] Ibid., p. 435. [5] Ibid., p. 443.

Court. The result, which appears in a letter from the judges to President Dickinson, July 7, 1784, was that "45 men were indicted for riot and false imprisonment and 5 Officers of Garrison for a rescue," and were fined. Colonel Moore is the only one mentioned by name. The fines were never collected, and on January 11, 1786, they were removed by Assembly.[1]

According to Miner, after the discharge of the troops, Judge Patterson, of Wyoming, re-enlisted half of them on his own responsibility, and they were besieged in Forty Fort until July 27, when the Yankees were compelled to retire after several lives had been lost on both sides. During this time Colonel Moore was engaged, *by order of the Supreme Executive Council*, in raising a force of three hundred infantry and fifteen dragoons, to be under the command of Colonel John Armstrong, Secretary of Council, and John Boyd, a member of Council. He sent a small force to reinforce Patterson, but the Yankees, hearing of it, detached a picked force to prevent their entrance into the valley. On August 2 they met at Locust Hill (a few miles east of Stoddartsville, on the old Sullivan road). Shots were exchanged, from which one of Moore's men was killed and several on both sides wounded, after which both parties retired, Moore to Easton, and the Yankees to Kingston.[2]

In the summer of 1784 the Council of Censors[3] had met and ordered the restitution of the land to the New England settlers, but, as we have just seen, Council paid no attention to their orders. On September 15, 1784, the Assembly repeated this order, and it was carried out, but not until 1799 and 1801 did the State pass laws compensating the Pennsylvania claimants and confirming to the New England settlers the titles to their land on payment to the State of from eighty-six cents to one dollar and twelve cents per acre.

After this Major Moore—for by that title he continued to be called—went to Philadelphia and entered the drug business. He moved in a fashionable circle in society, and ex-

[1] "Colonial Records," Vol. XIV. p. 622.

[2] See "History of Wyoming."

[3] Ibid., p. 361.

hibited a taste for high living and the expensive refinements, whether of art or pleasure, which in the end resulted unfortunately both to himself and his family. We believe that it was with him that General Washington dined on Thursday, June 14, 1787, on the occasion of his visit to Philadelphia during the Constitutional Convention.[1] On October 17 of that year, in Christ Church, he married Sarah, daughter of Colonel Sharpe[2] and Margaret Delany. She was one of the belles of Philadelphia society, and ably seconded the bent of his inclinations for extravagant living. When they visited Judge and Mrs. Moore at their home near Springton Manor, in Chester County, they rode in a handsome carriage drawn by fine horses, with everything to correspond in style, and were apt to astonish their neighbors who lived in a plainer though respectable provincial manner. We have heard an old lady tell how partly amused and half indignant were some of these worthy people on one occasion, when Mrs. Moore brought along with her baby a wet-nurse to minister to its requirements. They were not accustomed to the demands made by Fashion on her votaries in her inner circles.

Major Moore was one of the eight marshals of the great civic and military parade which took place in Philadelphia on July 4, 1788, an extraordinary affair for that time, and perhaps only excelled within the past decade in the city's history.[3]

[1] See PENNA. MAG., Vol. XI. p. 301.

[2] On December 30, 1788, he and his brother, Dr. William Delany, dissolved partnership in the retail drug business, the latter continuing in the business at Fothergill's Head, on Second Street, between Market and Chestnut. On May 8, 1789, Sharpe was appointed by President Washington Collector of the Port of Philadelphia. Judge James Moore was one of his four bondsmen, and Major Moore a witness. He transacted the business of collector in the front of his residence on the southeast corner of Second and Walnut. Townsend Ward, in his article on "South Second Street" (PENNA. MAG., Vol. IV. p. 55), mentions Sharpe Delany having a drug store at the northwest corner of Second Street and Lodge Alley, where Rebecca Franks, the celebrated wit, formerly resided.

[3] Philadelphia *Press*, July 4, 1872.

As a business man he was unsuccessful. On January 2, 1798, the partnership of Goldthwaite & Moore was dissolved, their store being at the corner of Second and Walnut Streets, and James Moore, Jr., advertised the stock for sale, as he proposed retiring from business.[1] His father assisted him on several occasions, on the last one parting with most of his land rather than permit his son's name to be dishonored.

About 1800, Major Moore removed with his family to the neighborhood of Jamestown, Virginia, preferring the severing of family and social ties, and a life among strangers, to meeting in the walks of daily life those who had known him in more prosperous times. Only once—on the occasion of his son Sharpe's visit to the home of his father's boyhood about 1810—has the veil which hid his further career from us been lifted. Since then nothing has ever reached his kindred of a life which, starting under the fairest auspices, devoted years with youthful ardor to a glorious cause, and had every incentive and apparently every opportunity for high attainment.

Addenda.—The following persons, who were officers in the army, are sometimes confounded with the subject of our sketch:

1. Captain James Moore, of Hall's Delaware regiment, who, in 1798, was Assistant Treasurer of the Society of the Cincinnati. He was one of the committee appointed, in 1788, to procure payment of Major L'Enfant for designing the insignia of that order.

2. Captain James Francis Moore, who, in 1777, was in the Seventh Regiment under Colonel Irvine, and on August 2, 1779, was honorably discharged by Colonel Daniel Broadhead, at Pittsburg, Pennsylvania.

3. Major Thomas Lloyd Moore, who as major was transferred from the Ninth to the Fifth Regiment of the Line on January 17, 1781, and was retired January 1, 1783, dying in Chester County, Pennsylvania, about 1820.

[1] The *Merchant's Daily Advertiser*, January 2, 1798.

A LIST OF THE ISSUES OF THE PRESS IN NEW YORK, 1693–1784.

PART I., 1693–1720.

BY CHARLES R. HILDEBURN.

[Books and pamphlets which have come under the personal inspection of the compiler, and of which he has secured full titles and collations with a view to their future publication, are marked with an asterisk (*). Additions and corrections to this list will be gladly received. The compiler is especially indebted to Messrs. William Kelby and Wilberforce Eames for their assistance.]

1693.

Account of several Passages and Letters between Gov. Fletcher and the administrators of the Laws in Connecticut.	W. Bradford.
Act of Assembly for levying 1*d.* on the £.	do.
" " " " restraining Pirates.	do.
* Catalogue of Fees.	do.
* Exhortation against keeping slaves.	do.
Leeds' Challenge to Caleb Pusey.	do.
* Pennsylvania. Act of Assembly levying 1*d* on the £	do.
* Proclamation, June 8.	do.
" " " in Dutch.	do.
" Aug. 25.	do.
" Nov. 13, regarding deserters.	do.

1694.

Act of Assembly for raising £6000 (1693?).	do.
Acts of the 4th Assembly.	do.
* Keith's Chronological Account of the World.	do.
* " Truth Advanced.	do.
* Laws of New York.	do.

Leeds' (D.) Almanac for 1694.	W. Bradford.
New York City. Charter of	do.
" Ordinances of	do.
Seasonable Considerations for the People of Connecticut.	do.

1695.

Acts of the 5th Assembly, 1st Session.	do.
" 2d "	do.
Leeds' (D.) Almanac for 1695.	do.
Maule's Truth held forth.	do.
Proclamation, April 22.	do.
" June 6, against the impressment of sailors.	do.
Votes of Assembly.	do.

1696.

Acts of the 5th Assembly, 3d Session.	do.
" 4th "	do.
Barbadoes Assembly. Act of—against Pirates.	do.
Leeds' (D.) Almanac for 1696.	do.
Lengard's Letter of Advice.	do.
London Gazette. Reprint of a (See 1698.)	do.
Proclamation, Feb. 27, appointing March 27 a fast day.	do.
" April 20, regarding enlisting volunteers.	do.
" May 11, of a reward for the destruction of the enemy.	do.
" May 11, of a thanksgiving day for the King's escape from the plot against his life.	do.
" June 11, against exporting provisions.	do.
" July 2, permitting the exportation of flour for 8 days.	do.

Proclamation, Aug. 1, to the creditors of the Fusileers to file their claims.	W. Bradford.
" Aug. 2, of the warlike preparations of the French.	do.
" Sept. 12, against deserters.	do.
* Trésor des Consolations Divines et Humaines.	do.

1697.

Acts of the 5th Assembly, 5th Session.	do.
Clap's Almanac for 1697.	do.
Leeds' (D.) " " "	do.
* " " News of a Trumpet.	do.
* Maule's New England Persecutors Mauled.	do.
* Pastorius' Four Boasting Disputers Rebuked.	do.
Proclamation, May 31, against exporting provisions.	do.
" Nov. 4, against deserters.	do.

1698.

Acts of Assembly.	do.
* Bellomont's Proceedings, May 8.	do.
* " Speech, May 19.	do.
Leeds' (D.) Almanac for 1698.	do.
Letter from a Gentleman in the City of New York.	do.
London Gazette. Reprint of a (See 1696.)	do.
Propositions made by the Five Nations.	do.
Secretary's Guide.	do.

1699.

Acts of the 7th Assembly, 1st Session.	do.
* Bellomont's Speech, March 21.	do.
Laws of New York. (Haven.)	do.
* Leeds' (D.) Almanac for 1699.	do.
* " Trumpet Sounded.	do.
* Ordinance establishing Courts, May 15.	do.
* Proclamation.	do.

1700.

Acts of 7th Assembly, 2d Session.	W. Bradford.
" 3d "	do.
* Gospel Order Revived.	do.
Hue and Cry against Errors.	do.
Leeds' (D.) Almanac for 1700.	do.

1701.

Acts of 7th Assembly, 4th Session.	do.
Arguments presented to the Lords of Trade.	do.
Leeds' (D.) Almanac for 1701.	do.
" Cage of Unclean Birds.	do.
* Maule's Abstract of a Letter to Cotton Mather.	do.
* Rogers' Important Relation.	do.?

1702.

* Account of the Trial of Col. Nicholas Bayard.	do.
Acts of Assembly.	do.
Keith's Refutation of Willard.	do.
Leeds' (D.) Almanac for 1702.	do.

1703.

Acts of Assembly.	do.
Corbin's Sermon.	do.
* Keith's Reply to Increase Mather.	do.
* " Spirit of Railing Shimei.	do.
* " and Evans' Some of the false, &c, assertions of William Davis refuted.	do.
Leeds' (D.) Almanac for 1703.	do.
" Rebuker Rebuked.	do.
Maule's For the Service of Truth.	do.?
New Jersey, Acts of Assembly.	do.
Proclamation of Gov. Cornbury, Nov. 4.	do.

1704.

Acts of Assembly.	do.
* Keith's Answer to Willard.	do.

* Keith's Brief Remarks.	W. Bradford.
* " Great Necessity of the Holy Sacrament.	do.
* " Notes of the True Church.	do.
Leeds' (D.) Almanac for 1704.	do.
Little Olive Branch.	do.
* Ordinance for further Establishing the Supreme Court.	do.
* " for Regulating Fees, Nov. 7.	do.

1705.

Act of Assembly to encourage the Importation of Naval Stores.	do.
Acts of Assembly, Oct. 1702, to June, 1705.	do.
Bugg's Bomb.	do.
* Leeds' (D.) Almanac for 1705.	do.
* " Great Mystery of Fox Craft discovered.	do.
* Ordinance regulating the Court of Vice Admiralty.	do.
Rogers' Epistle to the Quakers.	do.
" Midnight Cry.	do.
Secretary's Guide or Young Man's Companion.	do.

1706.

Acts of Assembly, June and Sept.	do.
* Leeds' (D.) Almanac for 1706.	do.
" Great Mystery of Fox Craft, Part II.	do.
* Sharp's Sermon on the death of Lady Cornbury.	do.

1707.

Albany. Charter of	do.
Order to Justices of the Peace.	do.
* Leeds' (D.) Almanac for 1707.	do.
Mackamie's Narrative.	do.
New York City. Laws and Ordinances of	do.

1708.

Acts of Assembly, Sept, and Oct.	W. Bradford.
Discovery of a Slander against B. Fanueil and other French Protestants.	do.
* Falkner's Grondyshe.	do.
Leeds' (D.) Almanac for 1708.	do.
Travis' " " 1709.	do.

1709.

* Act of Parliament for Ascertaining the value of Coins.	do.
* Bowers' Alarm Sounded.	do.
Laws of New York.	do.
* Leeds' (D.) Almanac for 1709.	do.
New Jersey. Laws of	do.
* Royal Instructions to Vetch and Lovelace.	do.
* Sonman's Answer, &c.	do.
Testimony of the Twelve Patriarchs.	do.
Travis' Almanac for 1710.	do.
Trinity Church. Acts of Assembly relating to	do.
Vesey's Sermon on the death of Lord Lovelace.	do.
Votes of Assembly, 1702–1708.	do.

1710.

Acts of Assembly.	do.
* Book of Common Prayer, 2 editions.	do.
Humble Representation of the New Jersey Assembly.	do.
* Laws of New York.	do.
* Leeds' (D.) Almanac for 1710.	do.
Ordinances regulating Fees.	do.
Travis' Almanac for 1711.	do.
Votes of Assembly.	do.

1711.

* Cambridge Platform.	do.
* Leeds' (D.) Almanac for 1711.	do.

* New Jersey. Votes of Assembly.	W. Bradford.
Votes of Assembly.	do.
1712.	
Acts of Assembly.	do.
Husbandman's Guide.	do.
* Leeds' (D.) Almanac for 1712.	do.
* Morgan's Gospel Ordinances.	do.
* Votes of Assembly.	do.
1713.	
Daniel Catcher. The	do.
* Laws of New York.	do.
* Leeds' (D.) Almanac for 1713.	do.
* Morgan's Portsmouth Disputation.	do.
* Tate and Brady's Psalms.	do.
Votes of Assembly.	do.
* Wise's Church's Quarrel Exposed.	do.
1714.	
Acts of Assembly.	do.
* Keach's War with the Devil.	do.
* Leeds' (D.) Almanac for 1714.	do.
Mulford's Speech in the Assembly.	do.
New England Psalms.	do.
* Proclamation of a Thanksgiving Day.	do.
Votes of Assembly.	do.
1715.	
Almanac.	do.
* Classe's Mohawk Prayer Book.	do.
* History of the Kingdom Basaruah.	do.
* Leeds' (T.) Almanac for 1715.	do.
* " " " 1716.	do.
* Ordinance altering the time of sitting of Supreme Court.	do.
Votes of Assembly.	do.
1716.	
Almanac.	do.
* Answer to Arguments against the Validity of an Act of the New Jersey Assembly granting affirmation to Quakers.	do.
* Dickinson's Remarks on Gale's Reflections.	do.

Laws of New York.	W. Bradford.
* Lex Parliamentaria.	do.
Leeds' (T.) Almanac for 1717.	do.
* Mulford's Information and Defence of his Whale Fishing.	do.
New Jersey. Act of Assembly granting affirmation to Quakers.	do.
New Jersey. Votes of Assembly.	do.
Votes of Assembly.	do.
1717.	
Almanac.	do.
* Hoadley Bishop of Bangor's Answer to Dr. Snape's Letter.	do.
Leeds' (T.) Almanac for 1718.	do.
* New Jersey. Laws of	do.
* " Votes of Assembly.	do.
Votes of Assembly.	do.
1718.	
Acts of Assembly.	do.
Leeds' (T.) Almanac for 1719.	do.
New Jersey. Acts of Assembly.	do.
" Votes of Assembly.	do.
Votes of Assembly.	do.
1719.	
By Order of the Government.	do.
* Laws of New York.	do.
Leeds' (T.) Almanac for 1720.	do.
New Jersey. Acts of Assembly.	do.
* " Votes of Assembly.	do.
New York City. Charter and Ordinances of	do.
Votes of Assembly.	do.
1720.	
* Acts of Assembly, June, 1719.	do.
* " " " Nov. 1720.	do.
* Burnett's Speech to the New Jersey Assembly.	do.
Leeds' (T.) Almanac for 1721.	do.
New Jersey. Acts of Assembly.	do.
" Votes of Assembly.	do.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

Notes.

LIFE AND SERVICES OF JOEL R. POINSETT.—The following extracts are from a recent letter of Hon. Thomas H. Ellis, Washington, D.C., to Dr. Charles J. Stillé, the author of "The Life and Services of Joel R. Poinsett:"

"I have read your sketch with great pleasure, and am glad to have had my thoughts so agreeably carried back to the many interesting events in the career of a distinguished gentleman whom I had the honor personally to know. Mr. Poinsett was accredited to Mexico as minister in 1825; in 1829 he was succeeded by Colonel Anthony Butler as *chargé d'affaires*, and in 1836 my uncle, Judge Powhatan Ellis, went out as *chargé d'affaires*, and again in 1839 as full minister. In my uncle's first mission I accompanied him as his private secretary, and in his second mission I was secretary of the legation. Of course, I heard a great deal about Mr. Poinsett while I was in Mexico, for he was as well known there, personally and by reputation, as perhaps any one of their own public men. His influence in Mexico, especially in the diffusion of republican principles, was not unlike that of Mr. Jefferson in France, except that he was more positive, and came more directly in conflict with the Catholic Church. Towards the end of 1840, having obtained leave to come home in consequence of the illness of my father, I arrived at Washington, and calling to pay my respects to the President, Mr. Van Buren, he invited me to dine with him. When I entered his reception-room at the hour appointed, I was gratified that Mr. Poinsett, then Secretary of War, had been invited to meet me. The President naturally desired to hear all that I could tell about Mexico, and Mr. Poinsett as naturally desired to hear not only of the state of affairs there, but of many persons whom he particularly inquired about, so that I could not fail to see that my conversation, in their estimation, was not one of ordinary chit-chat. Previous to that time the *Democratic Review* had been established by John L. O'Sullivan, afterwards *chargé d'affaires* to Portugal, and I had read two or three articles in it, giving an account of Mr. Poinsett's early travels, which had interested me extremely. After my appointment to Mexico I had, of course, read his 'Notes on Mexico,' and had made a study of all his diplomatic notes and despatches found in the archives of the legation. These circumstances combined to give me an unusually high opinion of his ability and rare equipment for service as a statesman.

"You may not be aware that Mr. Poinsett met in Paris on his arrival there, in the winter of 1801–2, several young Americans who were exactly of his own stamp and temper, with whom he became intimate; young men of ample fortune, seeking to improve themselves in the highest and best manner, by attending the lectures of the most eminent professors, by excursions with the view to the study of geology, botany, etc., and by cultivating a taste for art. One of these was Washington Allston, who afterwards became eminent as a painter, and to some extent distinguished in literature. Two others were Virginians,—Joseph C. Cabell and Isaac A. Coles,—and another was William Maclure, who, though Scotch by birth, came to this country at an early age, and was thoroughly

Americanized. Each of these young men attracted the attention of Mr. Jefferson, then President of the United States, who well knew how to make use of such material. To Cabell, on his return from abroad, he offered the appointment of first secretary of the treasury of Louisiana, and upon his declining that, offered to make him Governor of the new Territory, which Mr. Cabell also declined. Later in life he made him his confidential friend and representative when aiming to establish the University of Virginia; and, later still, encouraged him to take the lead in promoting the cause of internal improvement in Virginia, just as Mr. Poinsett did in South Carolina. Coles (brother of Governor Edward Coles of your city) he made his private secretary. Maclure, whom he had known as a young merchant in Richmond, he sent to France as a commissioner to settle the claims of American citizens for spoliation. He employed him also to furnish private information from various capitals in Europe for his use in administering the government, and as president of the American Philosophical Society he encouraged him in that pursuit of science which ended in his contributing so largely to the establishment of the Philadelphia Academy of Natural Sciences.

"Of Mr. Cabell's honorable career you will find a brief sketch in the preface to a volume entitled 'Correspondence of Jefferson and Cabell relating to the establishment of the University.' I always considered it a high compliment to myself that I was elected by the stockholders, in 1853, president of the important work of internal improvement of which Mr. Cabell was the father, and of which he was for eleven years president, the James River and Kanawha Canal. Mr. Poinsett and Mr. Maclure met again in Mexico. Mr. Maclure was there in my day. I took great pride and pleasure in his company, and as I happened to be acting consul at the time of his death, in March, 1840, I opened his will, took charge of his personal effects, buried him, and read the burial-service of the Episcopal Church over his grave, in the English cemetery in the City of Mexico."

A Yankee's Impressions of Wilkes-Barre, Penna., 1800–1.—"*Dec.* 5.—Arrived at Wilkes-Barre about 2 P.M. It is now in agitation to build a turnpike from here to Easton, sixty miles, and should this be effected Philadelphia will be the market *via* this route, which will shorten the distance one hundred miles from what it is by the Lancaster road. The inhabitants emigrated chiefly from Connecticut. There are a number of gentlemen of education residing here, chiefly professional characters of the law, and this being the county town of Luzerne, has rendered it populous. An elegant church with a spire has been built, and during the year a court-house will be erected. Some gentlemen are possessed of large property to the amount of £20,000, and more. A stranger has no reason to complain of the want of friends, or friendly assistance, who falls among them. The Sabbath is observed with great decency.

"On Sabbath, the 18th inst., I sent by Roswell Wells Esq. of this place, five letters to Sheffield and six to Canaan.

"Information was received on Tuesday last, that Mr. Jefferson was elected President of the United States. The Democrats are making preparations to rejoice on Wednesday next the 4th March, when an ox will be roasted whole, cannon will be fired, and probably some whiskey will be drank. They feel important, go with their heads up, assume a new language, are busy in the streets.

"*March* 5.—Yesterday was celebrated by the Democrats in this place with festivity and rejoicing, that Thomas Jefferson, the infidel, was raised

to the Presidential chair. They introduced the French flag and cockade; they stopped and insulted the mail, attacked and abused travellers, and committed many outrages. There are some Democrats of this place possessed of large property, they will do well to keep a good look out, for they have many brethren who have none at all, and who comfort themselves with the idea, of an equal distribution to be made in a short time. This is their glorious millennium, the reign of Liberty and Equality!

"*March* 12.—The inhabitants of Wilkes-Barre are a mixture of good and bad—Lord Butler, Roswell Wells, Matthew Covil, Putnam Catlin, Ebenezer Bowman, Arnold Colt, Capt. Samuel Bowman, Jesse Fell, George Griffin, and others are Federal in heart and conduct. They are men of property, character and morals, and there is a frank, open, and friendly appearance in all their conduct. There are others of a different complexion, all Democrats, and consequently are rebels against God and man! I never saw Democratic enmity expressed and acted out in such lively colours as it is in this place.

"The ladies of Wilkes-Barre might, perhaps, consider themselves neglected, should I pass them by in silence. Their circle is not large, yet they are a number, who have personal charms and other accomplishments, which render them engaging. Some in a fancy dress, with easy agreeable airs, have appeared to the best advantage, and were highly delightful. Their manners are easy, but not sociable in conversation.

"*March* 17.—This morning my hostess was frying eggs without lard. They stuck to the pan, nor could she turn them without breaking the yolks. She wondered what was the matter. Her husband told her it was because there was no lard in the pan. She said that she knew better, that it portended something very awful that was coming on the Democrats for celebrating the 4th of March with a roasted ox.

"*March* 24.—Concluding to view the country up the river, I this day left Wilkes-Barre, in company with Col. Hollenback. We passed thro' Kingston, and near its northern extremity he showed me the ground where the Indian battle was fought, in which we lost three hundred men. Col. Hollenback was in the action, and one of the few who escaped."

GENEALOGICAL NOTES. ABSTRACT OF WILLS RECORDED IN PHILADELPHIA.—*Andrew Doz*, of Philadelphia. Wife Rebecca and daughter Martha Flower, with rem., if said daughter d. s. p. to several charities. Extrs. wife and dau. Bishop White and Meirs Fisher. Dated Dec. 17, 1788; proved Jan. 8, 1789.

John Denny, of Northern Liberties, carpenter. Wife Susanna Margaretta, blind for many years, and her sister Margaret Clemens. Daughter Barbara Odenheimer, grandchildren. John, Jacob, Samuel and Susannah Denny, children of late son Henry Denny, dec'd. Extrs. son-in-law, Margaret Clemens, and son-in-law Philip Odenheimer. Dated Nov. 10, 1800; proved April 19, 1803.

Mary Bell, of Philadelphia, widow. Daughter Mary sole legatee, Bro. John Stamper, guardian of daughter Mary until 21, but if she die unmarried estate to brothers Francis and Thomas Stamper. Dated Jan. 12, 1749; proved Feb. 11, 1749.

Anthony Duché, Senr., of Philadelphia, potter. Only surviving daughter Ann: three sons Anthony, Jacob and Andrew. Their late mother. Grand-daughter, Ann Mears. Grandsons, James J. Duché and Andrew Duché. Executor dau. Ann. Dated May 2, 1761; proved June 1, 1762.

Anthony Duché, of Southwark, in the county of Philadelphia, cutler. Wife Lydia. Four children, Andrew, Anthony, Sarah and Mary Duché.

Executors, friend John Johnson, of Germantown, sadler and Andrew Doz, of Philadelphia, merchant. Dated May 15, 1772; proved July 7, 1772.

William Duché, of Southwark, carpenter. Wife sole heir and executrix. Dated May 18, 1779; proved July 1, 1779.

Swanson Duché, of Philadelphia, shipwright. Wife Ann heir. Executors, brother John Duché and wife. Nephews Andrew and Anthony sons of my brother Anthony Duché. Dated Sept. 19, 1780; proved Oct. 28, 1780.

Anthony Duché, of Southwark. Grandsons Andrew and Anthony Duché not 21. Daughter Rebecca Griffith; granddaughters Sarah, Mary and Catherine [no name]. Executor son John Duché. Dated Nov. 9, 1780; proved Oct. 10, 1787.

Jacob Duché. In the name of God, Amen, I Jacob Duché, late of the city of Philadelphia, b. April 26, 1708, in said city, in the Province now State of Pennsylvania, but at present living in the parish of Lambeth, in the county of Surrey, in the kingdom of Great Britain. Son Rev. Jacob Duché, daughter-in-law Elizabeth Duché, all my plate. Granddaughters Esther and Elizabeth Sophia Duché. Grandson Thomas Spence Duché. Executors, son and grandson, kinsman Andrew Doz, and friends Joseph Swift and Meirs Fisher of Philadelphia. Dated Aug. 1, 1786; proved in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury, Oct. 8, 1788. Proved in Philadelphia, March 7, 1789, by Joseph Swift and Meirs Fisher, Andrew Doz being dead.

Rev. Jacob Duché. Daughters Esther and Elizabeth Sophia Duché. Dated March 29, 1797; proved Jan. 13, 1798.

John Duché, of Southwark. Wife Jane sole heir. Dated March 12, 1802; proved Jan. 16, 1810.

Andrew Duché, of the city of Philadelphia, gentleman, advanced in years. Nephew John Duché son of brother Anthony Duché. Nephew Swanson Duché son of brother Anthony Duché. Niece Ann Estler, her husband Henry Estler. Her daughter Elizabeth Johns when 21. Elizabeth Duché, daughter of my nephew Jacob Duché with remainder to her brother Thomas Duché, Niece Ann Estler, and Ann wife of Swanson Duché to divide wearing apparel. Executors, friends Andrew Doz, Edward Duffield and Benj. Wynkoop. Dated Aug. 18, 1778; proved Sept. 19, 1778.

James Duché, of Southwark, widow. Jane Duché Hozey daughter of the late Isaac and Jane Hozey dec'd. Margaret Hozey, daughter of the same. Old Swedes £1000. Executors Margaret Lewis and Charles F. Hozey. Dated Dec. 24, 1827; proved March 1, 1829.

Letters of Administration, May 24, 1825 (pendante lite) to Margaret Jones on Jane Duché $16,000. N. 195.

Letters of Administration, Feb. 27, 1750–1, to Hannah Duché, widow of James Duché, on said James during the minority of his two infants. E. 353.

Letters of Administration, June 21, 1768, to John Moyes on James Duché.

Thomas S. Smith, attorney for John Parham, entered protest against the probate of Jane Duché's will, March, 1828.

Orphans' Court Docket, nothing, except in December, 1788 (Book XIV. p. 423), Andrew, son of Anthony, Junior, was living.

Deed of Partition, between Anthony Duché, of Southwark, gentleman of first part. Andrew Doz, surviving executor of the will of Anthony Duché, junior, deceased of second part. The party of the first part as devisee of Jacob Duché his son deceased. John Duché, of Southwark,

boat-builder, of third part. Swanson Duché, of Southwark, shipwright, of the fourth part. William Duché, of Southwark, house-carpenter, of the fifth part, and George Griffith, of Southwark, Taylor, and Rebecca his wife, of the sixth part. The said Anthony and Jacob (both deceased), John, Swanson, William and Rebecca, being children of the said Anthony of the first part and Catherine his former wife, who was the daughter of Christopher [and Christiana] Swanson, of Wiccacoe. Dated Dec. 5, 1774.

Description of a North Carolina Ordinary, or Inn, in 1790. —"The first thing that strikes your attention, after emerging from the woods, is a small building, either of logs or a frame, weatherboarded, and without walls. The whole house commonly consists of but one room, and the whole furniture in that room of some benches, a miserable bed, and a long pine chest, which has a lock and key, and contains the clothing and victuals of the family. You may always know an Ordinary, at ever such a distance, by the pipe of the chimney not being carried above the roof. Just before the front door (and indeed the only door in the house) stands an oven, composed of clay, under and about which are commonly seen a parcel of black hogs indulging themselves in the sun.

"Oats in these parts is the rarest thing in nature. If you can procure some Indian corn and blades for the animal that carries you, you may set yourself down in your journal for one of Fortune's favorites. If matters are so that you are under the necessity of putting up for the night, you may think yourself well off to procure a blanket; and as to a pillow, the saddle must be a substitute,—for a pillow, in these places, would be deemed a dangerous luxury. If it is winter, you lay yourself down by the fire; if summer, the best way is to lay out of doors with the blanket stretched over you on four small stakes, to cover you from the dews, and avoid the persecutions of the fleas. Whether you call for breakfast, dinner or supper, it is all one,—the constant fare is bacon and eggs. No sooner are you seated at the table, with your meal before you, than the house-dog, for the most part of the large wolf-breed, comes and sits down by you, and looks directly up in your face. The young children of the house, at the smell and sight of the victuals, instantly set up a yell, until they are appeased by the hostess, who quiets them by saying, 'they shall have some when the gentleman is done,' which is, by the by, a hint to you not to eat too much. By this time a number of young cats are felt clawing at your elbow, and, as it were, putting you in mind that they ought to come in with you for snacks, and, if you are not very circumspect, some of the more enterprising among them will leap up in an instant, and unflesh your fork with as much dexterity as if they had served seven years' apprenticeship to the business. As to conversation with the inn-holder, it is generally of a very contracted nature,—complaints of the high price of New England rum, and the very dull market for pitch, tar, turpentine, or tobacco. Little information or amusement there being to be got in this way, the best thing you can do, after you have dined, is to order your horse fed, and stand by, yourself, the whole time with a cudgel, otherwise the poultry, like so many harpies, will not leave the horse one grain in five hundred."

Marriage Certificate of Samuel Powell and Mary Morris. —Whereas Samuel Powell of the City of Philadelphia in the Province of Pennsylvania, Merchant, son of Samuel Powell of the City aforesaid, Carpenter, and Mary Morris daughter of Anthony Morris of the City

aforesaid, Brewer; Having declared their intentions of Marriage with each other, before several monthly Meetings of the People of God called Quakers, at Philadelphia aforesaid: according to the good Order us'd amongst them, and having Consent of Parents, their Proposal of Marriage was allowd of by the said Meetings. Now these are to certify whom it may concern, that for the full accomplishing their said intentions; this Ninth day of the Ninth Month, in the Year of our Lord One thousand seven hundred and Thirty two, They the said Samuel Powell and Mary Morris, appeared in a publick Meeting of the said People at Philadelphia aforesaid; and the said Samuel Powell taking the said Mary Morris by the Hand, did in solemn Manner openly declare; that he took her the said Mary Morris to be his Wife, promising with the Lord's Assistance, to be unto her a Loving and Faithfull Husband, untill Death should separate them; and then and there in the same Assembly, the same Mary Morris did likewise declare; that she took the said Samuel Powell to be her Husband, in like manner promising to be unto him; a Loving and Faithfull Wife untill Death should separate them; And moreover they the said Samuel Powell and Mary Morris (she according to the Custom of Marriage assuming the Name of her Husband) as a further confirmation thereof, did then and there to these Presents set their Hands; And we who hereunto subscribed our names, being present at the Solemnization of the said Marriage and Subscription, as Witnesses thereunto set our Hands the Day and Year above written.

Isabella Gordon	Beniiamin Morris	Clem Plumsted
Margaret Preston	Saml Powell jun^{r}	An^{d} Hamilton Junr
Sarah Knowles	Mary Powell	Thomas Flixney
Esther Clare	Sam^{ll} Powell	Hugh Cadry
Ann Steel	Anth^{o} Morris	Jacob Howell
Ru^{s} Thompson	Phebe Morris	Isr^{l} Pemberton Junr
Hen Charles	W. Morris	Edmund Kearny
Harriot Gordon	A Morris jun^{r}	John Bringhurst
Mary Plumsted	Sarah Morris	Thos Annis
Phil^{a} Gordon	James Morris	W. Plumsted
Marg^{t} Hamilton	Joseph Morris	Edwd Lloyd
Sus^{a} Owen	Hannah Morris	Abigall Arthur
Agnes Walbank	Elizabeth Morris Junr	Mary Lisle
E. Gordon	Saml Morris	Hannah Allen
Geo Spotfords	Eliz: Morris	Elizabeth Norwood
Obad: Eldridge	Sarah Morris	Susa^{n} Anderson
Geo Dickinson	Tho Penn	Sarah Tomas
Joshua Emlen	P. Gordon	Sus^{n} Painter
Edward Hopkins	Thos Freame	Margret Clymer
Sam^{el} Rhoads	Robt Charles	Mary Langdale
Sarah Bourne	John Salkeld	Sarah Cox
Rebekah Dickinson	Wm Laurence	Deborah Cordry Junr
Sarah Bryant	Sam: Preston	Mary Calvert
Rebecca Kearny jun^{r}	Israel Pemberton	Barbara Scarbrough
Mary Kinsey	Rees Thomas	Mary Lisle Junr
Elizth Morris	Frances Knowles	Mary Edwards
Thomasin Mickle	Jon^{a} Cockshaw	Elizth Calvart
Sarah Paschall	Alex Graydon	Deborah Cordry Senr
Eliz: Hard	Edw: Phippes	Eliz^{a} Smith
Deborah Morris	Matthew Phillips	

An Early Methodist of Philadelphia.—David Landreth, Sr., was born on a farm near Berwick-on-Tweed, in the year 1758, and died

in Philadelphia, August 23, 1836. His parents belonged to the Church of England, but he, while temporarily residing near London, became enamoured with the preaching of the Rev. John Wesley, which made a strong and enduring impression upon his mind. He emigrated to Canada in 1781, and removed to the United States in 1783, settling in Philadelphia, where he became a member of St. Paul's Episcopal Church, then under the pastorate of Rev. Joseph Pilmore, a man strongly in sympathy with John Wesley and his teachings. The impressions made by Mr. Wesley's preaching were destined to exhibit themselves, and shortly after Mr. Landreth united with the small band of Methodists who then worshipped in St. George's Church, on North Fourth Street, near New, and with whom he remained connected for some years, only leaving to join the more conveniently located Ebenezer Church, on South Second Street, subsequently removed to Christian Street. Mr. Landreth's house in the country (now Twenty-second and Federal Streets) was a rendezvous for prominent Methodist preachers, Bishop Asbury frequently making his head-quarters at the "Landreth nursery," then celebrated not only as the most hospitable resting-place for the circuit-riders (itinerant preachers of the day who travelled upon horseback), but by reason of its collection of rare plants and trees, one of the noted homes in the vicinity of the city.

David Landreth, Jr., thus refers to the visit of Bishop Asbury to his father's house: "Among those I remember at my father's house was the Rev. Francis Asbury, the primitive bishop. I distinctly recollect the venerable old man—would we had more like him to-day—of feeble frame, silver locks resting upon his shoulders.

"On the last occasion in which I saw him, when about to part from us, he drew me [a child] towards him, pressed me to his bosom, giving me his blessing. If there was no absolute virtue in the embrace, there is at least pleasure in the recollection. Asbury was an earnest man, firm, if not arbitrary, as was asserted, in the administration of Episcopal authority, but commanding the deferential respect and obedience of the preachers by reason of his integrity and singleness of purpose."

David Landreth and his wife are buried in the church-yard of Ebenezer, their graves being marked by a weighty granite block, with the two following inscriptions upon opposite sides:

"DAVID LANDRETH
Born at Berwick-on-Tweed
Emigrated to Canada
1781
Became a Resident of Philadelphia
1783
Died August 23rd 1836
Aged LXXXIV."

"SARAH ARNELL
wife of
DAVID LANDRETH
Born at Lewes Delaware
August 6th 1761
Died Oct 31st 1830."

David Landreth's brother, Cuthbert Landreth, also buried at Ebenezer, was an active worker in the Methodist Church, and preached occasionally.

Arms of the Lees of Virginia in 1659.—A curious work published in London in 1682, which bears the following title: "Introductio

ad Latinam Blasoniam. Authore Johanne Gibbone Armorum servulo quem a Mantilio dicunt Cœruleo," the author of which saw in the paintings on the bodies of the Indians various heraldic devices, has the following, which is most interesting as a very early example of the arms used and descent claimed by this old Virginia family, and is doubtless more correct than the writer's imaginative savage heraldry. He says (p. 156): "A great part of Anno 1659, till February the year following, I lived in Virginia, being most hospitably entertained by the honorable Col. R. Lee some time Secretary of state there, and who after the king's martyrdom hired a Dutch vessel, freighted her himself, and went to Brussels, surrendered up Sir William Barclaie's old commission (for the government of that Province), and received a new one from his present majesty (a loyal action, and deserving my commemoration): neither will I omit his arms, being Gul. a Fes. chequy, or Bl between Eight Billets Arg. being descended from the Lees of Shropshire, who sometimes bore eight *billets*, sometimes ten, and sometimes the *Fesse Contercompone* (as I have seen by our office-records). I will blazon it thus: In Clypeo rutilo; Fasciam pluribus quadratis auri et cyani, alternis æquisque spaciis (ducter triplici positis) confectam et inter octo Plinthides argenteas collocatam." The contemporaneous evidence of the arms of the Virginia Lees in 1659, and their claims of that early period, as stated above, are not found in the printed genealogy of the family.

P.

Memucan Hughes. An Early New Jersey Book-Plate (Ex Libris).—The bearer of this peculiar Christian name was a resident of Cape May County, and as dated book-plates are not common, and one would not expect to find any book-plate among the inhabitants of this county at that early period, I copy it in full as it appears in an odd volume of "The Negotiations of Count D'Avaux Ambassador from his Most Christian Majesty to the States General of the United Provinces." . . . "Translated from the French. Vol. II. Lond. MDCCLIV."

> "Memucan Hughes,
> His Book, 1760.
> Soon will my Glass of life be run,
> And with it all my Joys and Sorrows gone:
> Then I no more shall feel Love's cruel Fire,
> But cold and peaceful to the Grave retire:
> No more shall weep for the licentious Wrongs
> Of Judgments rash, or Scourge of sland'rous Tongues."

This is simply a printed slip, with an ornamental border.

A fly-leaf has written upon it: "Ezek[l] Stephens Book bo[t] at Memucan Hughes vendue Feb. 1812." I have also seen a copy of the "Citizen of the World," in two small volumes, printed towards the close of the last century, bearing the same plate.

With some experience in Puritanical Biblical names, I never remember to have seen any instance of "Memucan." It does not occur in Bardsley's "Curiosities of Puritan Nomenclature." Both Puritan and Quaker often named their children, not alone for their favorite Scripture characters, but with a particular reference to the meanings of those names, with an analogy to their circumstances as weary emigrants in a strange land, or on account of some great providence. Thomas

Chalkley records in his journal the name of his daughter "Abigail, which meaneth the father's joy." The curious Bible records of the Smiths of Burlington substantiate these statements.

The dictionary which I have consulted speaks of the uncertain derivation of Hebrew proper names, of which "Memucan" seems to be an example; various meanings given: "impoverished; to prepare; certain; true." Among the early inhabitants of Cape May, in the old Hand family was one bearing an equally unusual Biblical name,—"Shamgar Hand,"—which name is said to mean "named a stranger, he is here a stranger." It will be remembered that many of the first settlers of Cape May were descendants of the Puritans. Bardsley, however, does not seem to have met with the name of "Shamgar." P.

Major-General John Lambert.—Considerable interest has been manifested in various families of this vicinity claiming descent from Thomas Lambert, who came from Yorkshire in the ship "Shield," in 1678, as son or grandson of the Parliamentary general. Some years since the writer gathered the various data from Granger and from the English *Notes and Queries* and other sources regarding this person, and was surprised to find how little was written regarding him in a collected biography, at the same time concluding from various evidences that he left no male descendants. There are so many misstatements regarding his origin as obscure, emanating from the cavalier writers, that these facts may be worthy of preservation.

The National Portrait Gallery in London, in its catalogue, by George Schafr, edition 1884, says: "He was descended from a good family, and studied for the law, but on the commencement of hostilities between the King and the Parliament, took service in the army of the latter." The portrait of him in that gallery is by Robert Walker, who died in 1658. Two portraits were exhibited in the Leeds Exhibition of 1868,—artists' names not given,—one belonging to M. Wilson, Esq., the other to Lord Ribblesdale. The brief biographical notice given in the Leeds catalogue says: "Son of Josias Lambert of Calton-in-Craven. B. 1619. . . . Banished to Germany in 1667. Died on St. Nicholas Island, Plymouth Sound, 1682–3." Lord Ribblesdale also exhibited a portrait of Major-General Lambert's father, "Josias Lambert, Esq., of Calton-in-Craven. B. in 1554. Resided at Calton Hall. Father of Parliamentary general by his second wife. Buried at Kirby Malhamdale." Some letters of General Lambert and his wife, dating from 1649 to the Restoration, are in the Baynes collection in the British Museum. The passengers on the ship "Shield" have been called by a contemporaneous writer, "men of worth and repute." It is possible that Thomas Lambert may have been collaterally related to General Lambert. W. J. P.

Franklin Letter.—The original of the following letter is preserved in the archives of the Moravian Church in Bethlehem:

Philada. June 2nd 1775.

Reverend & Dear Sir,

I am much obliged by your kind Congratulations on my Return; and I rejoice to hear that the Brethren are well and prosper. I am persuaded that the Congress will give no encouragement to any to molest your People on Account of their Religious Principles; and tho' much is not in my Power, I shall on every Occasion exert myself to discountenance and prevent such infamous Practices. Permit me however to give a little Hint in point of Prudence. I remember that you put yourselves into a good Posture of Defence at the Beginning of the last War when

I was in Bethlehem; and I then understood from my very much Respected Friend Bp. Spangenberg, that there were among the Brethren many who did not hold it unlawful to arm in defensive War. If there be still any such among your young Men perhaps it would not be amiss to permit them to learn the Military Discipline among their Neighbors, as this might conciliate those who at present express some Resentment; and having Arms in Readiness for all who may be able and willing to use them, will be a general Means of Protection against Enemies of all kinds. But a Declaration of your Society, that tho' they cannot in conscience compell their young Men to learn the Use of Arms, yet they do not restrain such as are disposed, will operate in the Minds of People very greatly in your Favour. Excuse my Presumption in offering Advice, which indeed may be of little Value, but proceeds from a Heart fill'd with Affection and Respect for a Society I have long highly esteemed, and among whom I have many valuable Friends.

I am with great regard
& Veneration,
Revd Sir,
Your most obedient
humble Servant
B. Franklin.

Written in great Haste.
To Nathaniel Seidel.

British Army in America, 1778.—The *London Chronicle*, October 22–24, 1778, gives the following:

"Distribution of the army in North America under Sir Henry Clinton.

Lord Cornwallis.

York Island, Town, and Kingsbridge. Guards—45 regiment—35 ditto—4th ditto—28th ditto—49th ditto—26th ditto—7th ditto—63d ditto—52d ditto—1st and 2d battalions of the 71st ditto—Simcoes Rangers—Emericks Chasseurs—Lord Cathcart's Legion—Irish Volunteers—Baynard's Corps, Robinson's ditto—a corps attached to the artillery.

Hessians.

Regiment Du Corps—Prince Charles—Tromback—Donop—Mirback—Kniphausen—Lossberg—Wellart—Seitzt—Wisenbacks—Hereditary Prince.

Grenadiers—Linsing—Mingerode—Larquhay—Kuyler.

Gen. Vaughan.

Long Island. 2d battalion of grenadiers—2d ditto or light infantry—New York Volunteers—De Lancy's brigade—Brander's Corps—16th and 17th light dragoons—One Provincial troop, volunteers.

General Grant.

Staten Island. 27th regiment—55th ditto—40th ditto—5th ditto—10th ditto—Skinner's brigade of Provincials.

Paulus Hook. 57th regiment—a company of artillery.

General Sir Robert Pigott.

Rhode Island. 22d regiment—38th ditto—43d ditto—54th ditto—2 regiments of Anspach—3 ditto of Provincials.

Hessians.

Landgraves—Ditmols—Byman—Kyne.

Expedition under Sir Henry Clinton.

1st. battalion of grenadiers—1 ditto of light infantry—100 of 17th. light dragoons—ditto swords and saddles—15th regiment—17 ditto—33 ditto—37 ditto—42 ditto—44 ditto—46 ditto—64 ditto—23 ditto, on board the marines."

GENEALOGY OF THE GLASSELL FAMILY.—The Rev. Horace Edwin Hayden, A.M., has informed us that, after more than five years of careful preparation, his genealogy of the Glassell family of Scotland and Virginia is ready for the press. It will also contain pedigrees in full or in part of the following families, mostly of Virginia, Maryland, and Kentucky: *Alexander*, *Ashby*, *Ashton*, *Ball*, *Bankhead*, Barnes, Beckwith, *Blackburn*, *Blackwell*, Briscoe, Britton, Brockenborough, Bronaugh, *Brown*, *Bryan*, Buchanan, *Bullitt*, Caile, *Campbell*, *Cave*, Carter, *Chichester*, *Chinn*, *Claggett*, Coalter, *Conway*, Cooke, Cordell, *Cox*, Crawley or Cralle, Crosby, Covell, *Daniel*, *Downman*, *Eltonhead*, *Eno*, *Eustace*, *Ewell*, Fairfax, Fleet, Forest, *Fowke*, Fox, *Franklin*, Gaskins, *Glassell*, Grayson, *Grinnan*, Gordon, Halsey, Hanson, Harrison, Hart, Hayden, Hayes, *Henderson*, Henry, *Holladay*, *Horner*, *Hooe*, Jones, Kenner, *Key*, Lee, *Lewis*, *Lippett*. *Littlepage*, Madison, *Marr*, Mason, *McCarty*, McGuire, *Moncure*, *Morton*, *Morson*, Nalle, *Patton*, Paynter, Payne, *Peyton*, *Phillips*, Ramsey, Randolph, *Robinson*, Scarborough, Screven, *Scott*, *Smith*, *Somerville*, Spann, Stanard, Stone, Taliaferro, *Taylor*, Terry, *Thacker*, *Threlkell*, Thompson, *Tomlin*, *Travers*, Turner, Tucker, *Underwood*, *Vance*, *Wallace*, *Ware*, Washington, Webb, Weeks, *Winston*, Williams, *Wood*, *Yates*, etc. (Names in italics indicate full pedigrees.) The family of Wallace the compiler has traced to A.D. 1150, and it is expected that the lines of Glassell, Brown, Peyton, Scott, Gordon, Chichester, and others will also be given as far back as they can be established by the Royal College at Arms in London. The volume will contain about 800 pages octavo, well indexed, bound in cloth, illustrated by portraits, early wills, revolutionary letters and documents, and arms of the Ball, Chichester, Conway, Waller, Wallace, Scott, and other allied families. Mr. Hayden is well known as a diligent and conscientious genealogist, and it is with pleasure that we call the attention of our readers to his latest work, which will be a valuable contribution to American genealogy. Price to subscribers, $5. Orders should be addressed to the compiler at Wilkes-Barre, Pa.

JUDGE JAMES MOORE AND MAJOR JAMES MOORE, OF CHESTER COUNTY, PENNA.—In PENNA. MAG., Vol. XII. p. 307, it is stated: "On August 17, 1791, he [James Moore] was appointed an associate judge of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania. His associate judges in the Second Division, consisting of Chester, Lancaster, York, and Dauphin, were Judges Shippen and Finney, with William Atlee as president." I think that the above statement is incorrect. I know of no such division of the Supreme Court as that stated, nor of any associate judges, such as James Moore or Finney. But by the Act of April 13, 1791, in order to render effectual the provisions of the Constitution of 1790, establishing the Courts of Common Pleas, the State was divided into five districts, and a president judge, learned in the law, was to be appointed in each district, and not fewer than three nor more than four other persons appointed in each county as judges, which said president and judges were empowered to execute the powers, jurisdiction, and authorities of judges of the Courts of Common Pleas; justices of the Courts of Oyer and Terminer and General Gaol Delivery; judges of the

Orphans' Court, and of the Register's Court; and judges of Quarter Sessions of the Peace, agreeable to the laws and Constitution ("Bench and Bar," p. 49). In the "History of Chester County," p. 369, it is set forth that under the Constitution of 1790, the first associate judges in that county were Joseph Shippen, of Westtown; Walter Finney, of New London; and James Moore, of West Nantmeal. On page 368 it is stated the first president judge of the Second District was William Augustus Atlee. James Moore, therefore, was only an associate judge of the Court of Common Pleas of Chester County. His name is not among the list of attorneys of Chester County, nor was he a lawyer, and only lawyers were appointed associate justices of the Supreme Court of the Commonwealth. JOHN HILL MARTIN.

NOTE CONCERNING DESCENT OF JOHN CADWALADER.—The writer, whilst examining documents relative to the early Welsh settlers of Pennsylvania, noted the following concerning the descent of John Cadwalader, who came to Merion in 1697: He was born in the township of Kiltalgarth, parish of Llanrwst, Comot of Penllyn, County Merioneth, and was the second son of Cadwalader Thomas ap Hugh, of Kiltalgarth, by Elin, his wife, youngest daughter of Owen ap Evan, of Fron Goch and Gainor. They, Cadwalader and Elin, were married subsequent to 16 May, 1675, and Cadwalader died prior to 9 February, 1682. He was brother of John Thomas, of Llaethgwm, who died in Wales in 1682, just as he was about to embark with his family to Philadelphia. The descent of these brothers, taken from the original manuscript brought to Pennsylvania by the sons of John Thomas, may be found in the PENNA. MAG., Vol. IV., and that of Owen ap Evan (son of Evan Robert Lewis, of Fron Goch, who was born 1585) in Jenkins's "Historical Collections of Gwynedd."

Partly in proof of the above the following abstract of the will of John Thomas is given. The Robert Owen therein mentioned was the brother of Elin, mother of John Cadwalader. He removed to Pennsylvania in 1690 (certificate dated from Tyddyy Garreg, 6 mo. 8th), and died 8th of 10th mo., 1697; his wife's name was Rebecca, not Jane, as stated by some. "Robert Owen and Jane his wife" came to Pennsylvania in 1684, and died in 1685; but the families were not connected.

WILL OF JOHN THOMAS.

"Be it known unto all whom it may concern that I John Thomas of Llaethgwm in the Comott of Penllin within the County of Meuonyth, Gentleman, being weak in body," etc.

Clause concerning 5000 acres of land purchased of William Penn by himself and Edward Jones, of Bala.

Sons, Thomas Jones, Robert John, Evan John, Cadwalader John; Daughters, Kathrine, Mary, Sidney, and "Elizabeth, now wife of Rees Evan, of the township of Penmaen, in the County of Merionyth."

Wife, Kathrine.

"My nephew John the younger son of my Brother Cadwalader Thomas."

"My nephew Thomas Cadwalader."

"My Brother Cadwalader Thomas Late of Kiltalgarth and now deceased."

"Kathrine my dear wife I doe hereby nominate and appoint to be sole Executrix of this my last will and Testament; and I doe desire my Dear trusty and well beloved Friends John ap John of the parish of

Rhiwabon in the County of Denbigh; Thomas Ellis of Cyfanedd in the County of Merionyth; Thomas Wynne late of Bronvadog near Caerwys in the County of flynt; Robert Louid of Gwernevel in the County of Merionyth; Hugh Roberts of Kiltalgarth in sd County; Edward Jones late of Bala Chirurgion of the same County; Robert Vaughn of Gwernevel aforsaid in the sd County of Merionyth; Edward Moris of Lavodgyfaner in the foresd. County of Denbigh; Robert Owen late of fron goch, and my son in law Rees Evans of fronween, both neer Bala in the foresd. County of Merionyth; to be overseeors of this my last Will." Dated 9th Feb. 1682; proved at Philadelphia, 1685; original No. 41 of that year, Rec. in Will-Book A. pp. 77–82.

T. A. G.

Founding of St. Peter's Church, Philadelphia.—*The Pennsylvania Gazette* for September 21, 1758, under "Philadelphia Sept. 21," has the following: "Last week the wall of the new church, on the corner of Pine and Third-Streets, was begun, upon the lot given by the Honourable the Proprietaries. The first Stone was laid in the Southeast corner by one of the Wardens of Christ Church. The reverend Doctor Jenny who was then much indisposed, could not be there, but the reverend Mr. Sturgeon being present, offered up proper Prayers on the Occasion; and among other Petitions entreated the Almighty to bless and prosper the undertaking and that he would be pleased so to touch the heart of all our People, as to dispose them generously to contribute toward carrying on and finishing the work, and that his glory, and the salvation of souls, might be promoted thereby. Contributions for this church are taken in by Doctor John Kearsley, William Plumstead, Jacob Duche, Alexander Stedman, James Child, Evan Morgan, Redmond Conyngham, Atwood Shute, John Wilcocks, Joseph Sims, Samuel M'Call, junior, William Bingham, and James Humphreys; who are appointed to that service by the Vestry of Christ Church." William John Potts.

Ridgway Family.—The Ridgways of Pennsylvania claiming descent from the Ridgways of Ireland, these notes may interest them, as they are apparently the result of original research in the Irish Records. Recorded in the *English Notes & Queries 7th S. II. pp.* 255–256, under the title of the "First Protestant Colony Planted in Ireland." They are not found in the index under Ridgway.

Speaking of the lands allotted to Presbyterian and Protestant colonists from England and Scotland in the six northern counties of Ireland, the writer, "Constance Russel," says: Those from Scotland were more numerous. "Thomas Ridgway [of Torrington, Devonshire] and his two brothers, George and John, were amongst the earliest to take out their patents. In 1610 Ridgway, who was then about seventeen, was given large estates that had belonged to Sir Cormac O'Neill, a brother of the Earl of Tyrone, as also his house at Agher." There are various other matters of interest regarding Sir Thomas Ridgway and his tenants at the above reference, and on pp. 35 and 114 of the same volume.

William John Potts.

Interesting Will Relating to Christ Church.—John Danby's will, of the city of Philadelphia, distiller:

"*Item.* I give ten Pounds towards purchasing a pair of Candle Branches for Christ Church in Philadelphia.

"*Item.* I give twenty pounds to be Laid out by my Executors on a Ground Rent if it can be had or else put out at Interest on good Security

and the said Rent or Interest to be apply'd forever to purchase Loaves of Bread in order that twelve two Penny Loaves may be distributed amongst the Poor at the said Church monthly on a Sacrement Day after that service over to be distributed by the Minister and Head Church Warden there for the Time being and the said Rent to be purchased in the names of the Mayor of Philadelphia for the Time being and the said Minister and Church Warden and their Successors as Trustees for Ever or such of them as shall be judg'd by my Executors the best to answer my Design in this Charity."

His wife, Sarah, and Thomas Rouse to be executors, 27th December, 1743.

The rector of Christ Church, Rev. Dr. Foggo, informs me that the candelabra answering this description are still in the possession of the church, but are temporarily at Christ Church chapel.

It is to be regretted that the custom of distributing bread does not now exist in Christ Church. A similar custom is kept up in the old church of St. John's, Portsmouth, New Hampshire, in which the conservative inhabitants of that town take a great pride. The bread is placed on the font, after the service, wrapped in a linen cloth.

WILLIAM JOHN POTTS.

BUCK FAMILY RECORD.—In a prayer-book, printed at Edinburgh, 1783, are the following entries, in a fair hand, relating to the family of Buck, at one time residing in Bridgeton, New Jersey. The book also contains a printed book-plate of "E. Buck," probably done in the present century:

"Joseph Buck was Born 1. May 1758
"Ruth Seeley Novr 15. 1763
"Joseph Buck and Ruth Seeley were married 19th March 1783
"John Buck was Born 1. April 1784
"Maria Buck Sept 25. 1785
"Sarah Buck 11 August 1787
"Jane Buck 4. October 1789
"Hanah Buck 25 October 1791
"Naomi Seeley Buck 13 Sept. 1793
"Ephraim Buck 23^{d} Feby 1795
"Joseph Buck 23 Decr 1796
"Naomi Seeley Buck died Septr 26th 1798 4 o'clock A.M.
"Maria Buck died same Day at 5 o'clock in the afternoon"

On a fly-leaf in a childish hand,—
"Jeremiah Buck September 8th 1803
"Joseph Buck Sen. died May 15th 1803
"Ruth Ogden died——"

FAMILY OF WILLIAM GUEST, OF WEST JERSEY.—William Guest, born in Dublin, Ireland, 12th September, 1713; came to America and settled in West Jersey, where he died, 10th October, 1783. He married Christina (maiden name Halton, born at Greenwich, 31st December, 1713), widow of Andrew Arihard, 12th February, 1736. (By her first husband she had one child, *Christina*, born 13th October, 1733.) She died 29th November, 1789. Their children were:

Elizabeth, b. 16 Dec. 1736.
James, b. 18 Nov. 1738, d. 1739.
William, b. 14 March, 1740.
Henry, b. 14 March, 1742.

Isaac, b. 17 Dec. 1743.
Nathaniel, b. 14 Oct. 1746, d. Jany. 1750.
Joseph, b. 5 Jan. 1749.
Catherina, b. 29 Nov. 1751.
Mary, b. 8 Oct. 1752.
Benjamin, b. 10 July 1755, d. 7 Nov. 1758.
Sarah, b. 9 Oct. 1758.

HINCHMAN—HARRISON—BLACKWELL—BENEZET.—There was recently upon the shelves in Leary's Old Book-Store, in Philadelphia, an old Bible, printed in 1715, at Oxford, in which was entered the following family record:

"Jacob Hinchman & Abigail Harrison was married the 5th Day of June Anno Dom. 1740.

"Mary Hinchman, the Daughter of Jacob Hinchman, and Abigail his wife, was born ye 26th Day of May, Between the hours of Ten & Eleven of the Clock in the Morning in the year of our Lord Anno Dom. 1742.

"Robert Blackwell the Son of Jacob Blackwell was born 5 of May, Anno Dom. 1748.

"Maria Benezet the Daughter of John and Hannah Benezet was born the 19 of March anno Dom. 1748.

"Ann Bingham Blackwell was born September th' 13 in the year of our Lord 1784. Died Ap. 17. 1789."

On some of the front pages are found the following names written: "Peter Watson," "Benjamin Watson," "Rebekah Harrison," and "Robt Blackwells." THOMAS MAXWELL POTTS.

Canonsburg, Pa.

"THE SPIRIT OF DESPOTISM:" BY THE REV. VICESIMUS KNOX. (See p. 128, PENNA. MAG., Vol. XII.)—Since writing my query on this subject I am reminded of the phrase, "To have sought out one new fact to-day is to have three others in the same connection seek you to-morrow." I picked up in an old book-shop another American edition of the above work, which seems to have been popular in its day, making as it does the third published in this country with that by Lang and Ustich in 1795, and Alex. M. Kemble in 1837. The title-page is: "The | Spirit | of | Despotism. | Two mottoes | London: Printed in the year 1795. | Trenton: | Re-Printed by Wilson & Blackwell | 1802." 12mo. Preface 4 pp. 7–384, eight pages of which, at the end, are filled with subscribers' names. The Hunterdon County, N.J., subscribers are headed by Joseph Bloomfield, Governor of the State of New Jersey, 2 copies. They number 133, of whom John Prall, Jr., takes 24 copies; Burlington County, 69 subscribers; Monmouth, 46; Gloucester, 60; Cumberland, 27; Cape May, 25; Salem, 13; Middlesex, 37; Somerset, 21; Sussex, 20; Essex, 1; State of Pennsylvania, 44. State of Delaware, David Hall, Governor of the State of Delaware, 2 copies, and 23 others. State of New York, which, with those who take several copies, makes probably an edition of nearly 600, of which 529 names are given. W. J. P.

CHAPLAIN—ARCHDALL—ROBINSON—KEMBLE.—Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas Chaplain, a pilot, and Ann, his wife, was born in Philadelphia, 18th December, 1725. Married, first, Thomas Archdall, 12th April, 1750, who died December, 1751; second, Francis Robinson, who died 1757; and, third, George Kemble, a widower, with six children, who died in 1774. By her second marriage she had two children,—a daughter, Elizabeth, who married Jacob Weiss, of Weissport, Penna., descendants

of whom are living, and a son, who died in infancy. The issue of her third marriage was one son, who died when eight months old. Mrs. Kemble died at Nazareth, Penna., 12th January, 1789.

WARM WAVE IN JULY OF 1734.—The *Pennsylvania Gazette* of July 11, 1734, announces the following deaths from the heat in Philadelphia and vicinity:

"Saturday night last died suddenly Mrs. Frasier of the city of the heat. She has left nine children and most of them small.

"The same day (Saturday night last) James Worthington of Byberry, as he was reaping dropped down, and being carried into the shade, died in a few minutes.

"Tuesday one Jacob Lee, a gardiner, being overcome with the heat as he was at work clipping of a hedge, fell down and expired soon after.

"The same evening died with the heat, a daughter of Mr. Aaron Goforth, soon after she was taken."

BITS OF LOCAL HISTORY.—DIED—Last week at the Pennsylvania Hospital, the old horse called *Braddock;* supposed to be about 41 or 42 years of age. There is no reason to question his being one of the horses employed on the expedition of General Braddock in the year 1755. He was blind with age, and his teeth being fairly worn down with use, he was scarcely able to eat hay the last year of his life. [August 10, 1791.]

PENNSYLVANIA HOSPITAL.

6th month 29 '98.

AT a meeting of the Contributors, held the 23d instant, in order to obtain a desision on the propriety of completing a Dome to the new building heretofore agreed upon, it was thought the number of members met, were not enough to reverse the former conclusion—it was therefore resolved, that the Managers should call another meeting for that purpose. *Agreeably to this Resolve—*

The Contributors are again requested to meet at the Pennsylvania Hospital, on the ninth day of the next month, being the 2d day of the week, at four o'clock in the afternoon, to re-consider and decide upon the propriety of completing the said Dome.

By order of the Managers,
SAMUEL COATES, clerk.

ICE
For sale at the Pennsylvania
Hospital.
July 11 1804.

CHARITY.

Pennsylvania Hospital, Sept. 15, 1812.

LINEN RAGS being very much wanted for dressing the wounds of our own citizens, as well as those of the Prisoners—the friends to the institution and the public in general, are respectfully requested to supply what they can spare, by sending them to ANN POWELL No. 15, N Third street, (who has kindly offered to receive them)—or to the Pennsylvania Hospital, where they will be thankfully accepted by

SAMUEL MASON, Steward.

NOTICE.

T. SWANN

Respectfully informs his friends and the public, that owing to the weather, his exhibition is postponed until tomorrow evening.

"*And witch the world with Horsemanship.*"

NEW AMPHITHEATRE,

CENTRE-SQUARE, PHILADELPHIA.

T. SWANN

WILL TO-MORROW EVENING, Wednesday, Oct. 1, at 7 o'clock Lecture on the useful and grand science of Horsemanship, interspersed with Recitations, Singing, Music—and, the Prancing Filley, dancing to music, &c. &c.

A Prologue on the occasion, written and spoken by Mr. Frances, who will, in the course of the evening, recite Monsieur Tonson; Alonzo, the Brave, And the Fair Imogine, together with Giles Jollup the Grave, and the Brown Sally Green.

The evening's entertainment to conclude with the much admired PONEY RACES.

The above races cannot fail to prove an agreeable treat, being an exact representation of real racing, which ladies and gentlemen can view at their own ease—without risk or danger—or travelling either north or south, or sweating to Germantown.

"Only think of that, Master Brooks." [Shakespeare.]

☞ Box 50 cents—Pit 25 cents.—Doors open at 6 o'clock.

*** Mr. Scott's benefit will be on Wednesday evening.

[September 30, 1806.]

THE WHALE,

WHICH was harpooned and taken by four barges manned, after an arduous chase of three days, in the river Delaware, near Trenton Bridge, will for a few days be exhibited

At the Board Yard, near the High Bridge, Kensington.

This whale is believed to be of the peculiar species called the Sperm-aceti Whale. It has been viewed by several experienced Whale Fishers, and all agree, that notwithstanding his great size and extraordinary strength of bone and muscle, that he is

A YOUNG WHALE.

The Dimensions are,	*feet,*	*inches.*
The length of the Whale is	24	8
The width of the tail, which when alive lay flat on the water is	6	11
Breadth from eye to eye	5	2
Width across the jaw	4	2
Length of the tongue	4	8
Width of the tongue	1	8
Length of the jaw whale bone	1	2
Girth around the body	15	0

Every child is taught to wonder at the size of this immense fish, and every human being is anxious to see an animal so immensely large, and of which such wonders are related in history, sacred and profane. It may never occur that the present generation may have an opportunity

of gratifying a laudable curiosity at so little trouble, and so trifling an expense as they now can. The Whale is now pickled, and in as pure a state, as the day it was caught. The public will be informed when removed. It is allowed to be a much greater curiosity than the whale exhibited a few years past, having the real whalebone extending from its jaws—a beautiful sight. Admittance 25 cents—Children half price.
[December 3, 1814.]

NEW YORK STEAM BOATS.

Only twenty five miles by Land.

Passage through, Four Dollars and fifty cents.

THE Philadelphia and Rariton Steam Boats, connected by Stages, form a line to New York. Passengers leave the foot of Market street in Philadelphia, every Monday, Wednesday and Friday morning, at 7 o'clock, sleep at Brunswick; and arrive at New York the next morning at 12 o'clock. This mode of conveyance is to be preferred to any other, as the distance by land by the Bristol and Elizabethtown Boats is fifty six miles, by the common stages eighty six, but by this route only twenty five miles.
[September 25, 1815.]

LINEN MANUFACTORY IN 1766.—The following is a copy of the original certificate in the autograph collection of Mr. Charles Roberts:

WHEREAS *Joseph Fox, William Allen, Benjamin Chew, John Ross,* and *Philip Syng,* together with sundry others, as by their Subscription to the Articles in the Company's Books, more fully appears, have entered into an Agreement of Copartnership, for erecting and carrying on a LINEN MANUFACTORY, in or near the City of *Philadelphia:* this is to certify, that James Penrose hath subscribed, and, by his Note of Hand, engaged to pay *One Hundred Pounds* towards the joint Stock of the said Company, whereby he the said James Penrose, is intitled to his Share of the Stock, and a Proportion of all Prof'ts arising from the said Manufactory. Witness my Hand, this 19th Day of *feby* 1766.

SAML PRESTON MOORE.

WASHINGTON *versus* CONGRESS.—"It is reported, that though there is not a formal breach between Mr. Washington and the Congress, yet there is a want of cordiality between them. He will not co-operate with them in all their measures, and they know not how to enforce them. They disapprove his conduct, but dare not avow their dislike:—Washington has fixed principles from which he will not recede."—*London Chronicle,* July 2–4, 1778.

THE TRAMWAY-CARS' PREDECESSOR.—THE CHESTNUT STREET ACCOMMODATION. This stage commenced running last Friday regularly from the Coffee-House along Chestnut Street to the Schuylkill. It is a very neat and commodious vehicle, and will prove a great convenience to persons having business in the western part of the city.
January 1, 1830.

FOULKE FAMILY.—In the PENNA. MAG., Vol. XII. p. 370, it is stated that Owen Foulke, b. 6, 27, 1763; d. 6, 30, 1808, was a member of the Philadelphia bar. An examination of the records of admissions to the Philadelphia bar fails to disclose the admission of any such gentleman. J. H. M.

Queries.

"A Farce:" by William Ellery.—In May of 1780, a letter written in a jocular vein was conjointly addressed by William Ellery and James Madison to a committee of Congress composed of Messrs. Matthews, of South Carolina; Peabody, of New Hampshire; and General Schuyler, of New York, and sent to head-quarters. It was subsequently printed in the Richmond *Compiler*. The original of "A Farce," in the handwriting of Mr. Ellery, and now in the possession of his grand-daughter, Miss Henrietta C. Ellery, of Newport, R.I., is supposed to have been written about the same date. Information is desired as to whether it was dedicated to some committee of Congress or to a society in Philadelphia.

A FARCE.

ACT.

The theatre represents the Robin Hood Society in their hall. The President sitting under a canopy.

SCENE.

Pomposo, Glorioso, Whiggo.

Pomposo rises and addresses himself to the President.

I rise, Sir, to propose a plan
  Of vast importance to each State.
I'm sure 'twill suit us to a man,
  And not excite the least debate.
In dirty chairs too long we've sat,
  Too long on naked floors we've stood.
I cannot think of this or that
  But boiling choler fires my blood.
No great distinction, Sir, besides,
  Marks, as it ought, each patriot sage,—
Great evils, Sir, that State betides
  Where dressed alike is prince and page.
Let chairs be bought of costly wood,
  The bottoms stuff'd with down of geese,
How can we feel in proper mood
  Unless we sit at perfect ease?
Let carpet Gobelin o'erspread
  And hide the knotty, homely floor,—
Let freedom's cap adorn each head
  And flowing robes make cits adore
Our dignities. Alas! too long
  We've passed unnoticed through the street,
Or when we've mingled with the throng
  Not one our noble selves would greet.

Glorioso seconds the motion, &c.

I second, Sir, my worthy friend,
  And these amendments pray for
That member each have paper, sand,
  And pen and ink and wax and wafer.
I move, besides, to fix the rank
  Of —— least some awkward wight
When —— makes the dinner frank
  Instead of left should take the right;
Or in procession thrust his nose
  Proudly before his noble betters,
Or dare his body interpose
  Sages among, renowned for letters.
To members title I propose
  To give of Excellency,
Or somewhat which they may suppose
  As well will suit the proudest fancy.
For President is placed far
  By title proud above his peers.
Such marked distinction I abhor,
  Members! I wish you'd lend your ears
To this and every mention'd head,
  I burn t' advance to highest pitch
And make our glory widely spread
  As far as Fame her flight can stretch.

Pomposo seconds ye amendment.

Whiggo.

Could flowing robes make language flow
  Or caps of freedom sense impart,—
Carpets' gay tints make fancy glow
  Or cushioned chairs improve the heart;

Could titles high exalt the soul
  To form some wise some great design;
Could rank the passions' rage control
  And make confederate orders shine,

All might agree with hand and heart
  To urge and rush these motions through;
But, Sir, we know pomp can't impart
  Good sense, or give finance a sous.

Besides,—what would our cits opine
  Who think we ardently lust for power?
Trust me, they'd lash in keenest lines
  And all their vengeance on us pour.

In vain you'd quote old Greece and Rome,
  And talk of lictors, ay and fasces;
They'd tell you, Sirs, pray look at home
  Nor sequents be like servile asses.

Let motions and amendments all
Sink in commitment's deepest pit;
None for report will on them call,
'Till —— loose all sense and wit.

They were committed.

POTTS.—In PENNA. MAG., Vol. XII. p. 127, "V. S." states that *Eleanor Potts*, who married Thomas Roberts [in 1705], was the daughter of *Samuel Potts*, of Valley Forge. The writer has given some study to the Potts family in America, and a *Samuel Potts*, in Eastern Pennsylvania, at that date, is an entirely new person to him. The writer's great-grandfather is the earliest *Samuel Potts* of whom he has any knowledge in Eastern Pennsylvania, but he was not born until 1723.

A *Samuel Potts*, born in Kings County, Ireland, about 1690 to 1695, came to America, and further trace of him is lost; but he also comes too late to have had a daughter married in 1705.

According to the records of Abington Friends' Meeting, a *Mary Potts* married Matthias Tyson, son of Rynier, in 1708. That a *Mary Potts* married Peter Tyson in 1727 is new to the writer. If "V. S." can verify his statements, the writer would be very glad to know it. Any information of *Eleanor*, *Mary*, or the said *Samuel Potts*, will be thankfully received.

Canonsburg, Pa. THOMAS MAXWELL POTTS.

ELEANOR, DAUGHTER OF SAMUEL POTTS? (Vol. XII. p. 127).—The writer has spent many years investigating the history and genealogy of persons of the name of Potts in Pennsylvania, and has not met with the name of a Samuel as early as that mentioned by "V. S.," who could have been the father of Eleanor Potts, who married Thomas Roberts in 1705. He has been unable to make out the affiliation of Eleanor Potts to the early Potts families of this vicinity, though he believes her to be nearly related to some of them. An estimate of her age would perhaps assist in placing her. This is not at all singular, for owing to the very deficient records of that date there are many difficulties. The barest mention of the names of these persons at certain places and times will greatly assist many who are interested in this family's history.

Camden, N. J. WILLIAM JOHN POTTS.

Replies.

ORGAN-BUILDERS.—Gustavus Hesselius, a Swede, who died in Philadelphia in 1755; John G. Klemm and David Tanneberger, and Robert Harttafel, of Lancaster. Tanneberger's instruments were undoubtedly the best. The largest organ he built was for Zion's Lutheran Church, which stood at the southeast corner of Fourth and Cherry Streets, and was destroyed by fire in 1794.

YEATES—SMITH.—Joseph Yeates was a well-known tavern-keeper on Chestnut Street, and died on Friday, November 30, 1770. Robert Smith, architect, resided on Second Street, and died on Tuesday morning, February 11, 1777. The latter was a Friend.

ERRATA.—The "Indian Queen" Tavern, mentioned on page 103, was situated on Fourth Street, not Third, as stated by Dr. Cutler. On page 114, third line from top, for 10,000 inhabitants read 10,000 houses. The Colonel Winthrop mentioned on page 177, twenty-fourth line from top, and elsewhere in same article, should no doubt read Colonel Winthrop Sargent. On page 391, thirteenth line from top, it is stated that a Mr. Galloway visited Bethlehem, and before his name Joseph has been supplied. This is clearly a mistake. Joseph Galloway was then within the British lines.

MEETINGS OF THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF PENNSYLVANIA, 1888.

A stated meeting was held on the evening of January 9, Vice-President Samuel W. Pennypacker, Esq., in the chair.

General W. W. H. Davis was introduced to the meeting, and read a paper on "The Plains and the Rockies Thirty-five Years Ago."

On motion,

"*Resolved*, That the thanks of the Society be and they are hereby tendered to General Davis for his interesting and instructive paper, and that he be requested to furnish a copy to the Society for preservation among its collection."

On motion, adjourned.

A stated meeting of the Society was held on Monday evening, March 12, the President, Brinton Coxe, Esq., in the chair.

Nominations for officers to be voted for at the next stated meeting being in order, Mr. Crawford Arnold nominated the following:

President.
Brinton Coxe.

Vice-Presidents (to serve three years).
Samuel W. Pennypacker, Charles J. Stillé.

Corresponding Secretary.
Gregory B. Keen.

Recording Secretary.
William Brooke Rawle.

Treasurer.
J. Edward Carpenter.

Council (to serve four years).
William G. Thomas, Oswald Seidensticker,
John C. Browne.

Trustee of the Publication and Binding Fund (to serve six years).
Aubrey H. Smith.

No other nominations being made, the chairman appointed tellers to conduct the election.

The Librarian, Mr. Frederick D. Stone, read "Extracts from the Journals of Dr. Manasseh Cutler, relating to Social Life in New York and Philadelphia in 1787," which will be found in the PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE, Vol. XII. p. 97.

On motion, adjourned.

A stated meeting of the Society was held on the evening of May 7, the President, Brinton Coxe, Esq., in the chair.

Minutes of last meeting approved.

The report of the Council for the year 1887 was read, and ordered to be spread on the minutes.

A portrait of Christopher Marshall having recently been presented to the Society by Mr. Charles Marshall (being a copy of the original in the possession of the family), the President introduced J. Granville Leach, Esq., who read a paper commemorating the life and services of that patriotic gentleman.

Mr. Philip Syng Physick Conner also read a paper entitled, "The Registers of the Anglican Church in Pennsylvania prior to the Year 1800."

On motion, it was

"*Resolved*, That the thanks of the Society be tendered to Mr. Charles Marshall for this valuable portrait of his ancestor, and that its thanks be also tendered to Messrs. Leach and Conner for their very interesting and valuable papers, and that they be requested to furnish copies thereof for preservation by the Society."

The tellers appointed to conduct the annual election reported that the gentlemen nominated at the last stated meeting had been unanimously elected.

There being no other business, the meeting then adjourned.

A stated meeting of the Society was held on Monday evening, November 12, Vice-President Hon. Craig Biddle in the chair.

The chairman introduced Henry Flanders, Esq., who read a paper on "The Growth of the Democratic Element in the British Constitution."

On motion, it was

"*Resolved*, That the thanks of the Society be tendered to Henry Flanders, Esq., for his able and valuable paper, and that he be requested to furnish a copy for preservation in our collection."

The Recording Secretary, William Brooke Rawle, Esq., reported that there has been deposited with the Society the silver trophy vase and paraphernalia of the United Bowmen, of Philadelphia, and read a historical sketch of the Society, which was organized in 1828. The Secretary also announced that Robert Pearsall Smith had deposited with the Society the silver tea-set presented by William Penn to James Logan on his marriage.

On motion, adjourned.

OFFICERS

OF

THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF PENNSYLVANIA.

PRESIDENT.

BRINTON COXE.

HONORARY VICE-PRESIDENTS.

CRAIG BIDDLE, AUBREY H. SMITH.

VICE-PRESIDENTS.

HORATIO GATES JONES,
JOHN JORDAN, JR.,
GEORGE DE B. KEIM,
WILLIAM M. DARLINGTON,
SAMUEL W. PENNYPACKER.
CHARLES J. STILLÉ.

CORRESPONDING SECRETARY.

GREGORY B. KEEN.

RECORDING SECRETARY.

WILLIAM BROOKE RAWLE.

TREASURER.

J. EDWARD CARPENTER.

LIBRARIAN.

FREDERICK D. STONE.

ASSISTANT LIBRARIAN.

JOHN W. JORDAN.

HISTORIOGRAPHER.

J. GRANVILLE LEACH.

COUNCIL.

JOHN JORDAN, JR.,
SAMUEL W. PENNYPACKER,
JOHN B. GEST,
CHARLES HARE HUTCHINSON,
GEORGE HARRISON FISHER,
CHARLES ROBERTS,
JAMES T. MITCHELL,
WILLIAM S. BAKER,
WILLIAM G. THOMAS,
OSWALD SEIDENSTICKER,
EDWIN T. EISENBREY,
JOHN C. BROWNE.

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JOHN JORDAN, JR., AUBREY H. SMITH,
CHARLES HARE HUTCHINSON.

TRUSTEES OF THE LIBRARY FUND.

FREDERICK D. STONE, JOHN JORDAN, JR.

TRUSTEES OF THE GILPIN FUND.

BRINTON COXE, JOHN JORDAN, JR.,
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CHARLES J. STILLÉ.

TRUSTEES OF THE ENDOWMENT FUND.

GEORGE DE B. KEIM, JOHN JORDAN, JR.,
BRINTON COXE.

STATED MEETINGS.

March 11, 1889. November 11, 1889.
May 6, 1889. January 13, 1890.

Annual membership	$5.00
Life membership	50.00
Publication Fund, life subscription	25.00
Pennsylvania Magazine, per annum . . .	3.00

Payments may be made to the Librarian, at the Hall, 1300 Locust Street, or to the Collector.

EXTRACTS FROM THE REPORT OF THE FINANCE COMMITTEE TO THE COUNCIL.

Statement of Finances, December 31, 1887.

DR.

The Treasurer and Trustees charge themselves with the following:

Investments in Loans and Stocks . . .	$60,939 55
Loan to Real Estate	5,984 48
Cash	3,710 50

CR.

The Treasurer and Trustees claim credit for:

Publication Fund, Invested		$32,111 78
" " Uninvested . . .		417 97
" Interest Account		1,213 41
Binding Fund, Invested		3,300 00
" " Uninvested		308 39
General Fund, Invested		11,000 00
" " Interest Account . . .		102 16
Library Fund, Invested		8,000 00
" " Interest Account . . .		43 02
Endowment Fund, Invested		12,001 89
" " Uninvested . . .		1,470 50
Loan Emily Bell		565 41
Donation for Harleian Publications . .		100 00
	$70,634 53	$70,634 53

Publication Fund.

Receipts: Cash on hand, January 1, 1887 .		$887 65
Interest on Investments, 1887 .		1,761 17
Subscriptions to Magazine, etc. .		874 91
		$3,523 73
Disbursements for 1887		2,310 32
Balance in hands of Trustees . . .		$1,213 41

Binding Fund.

Receipts:	Interest on Investments, 1887 . .		$226 50
	Contributions, etc.		202 25
			$428 75
Disbursements for Binding, 1887 . . .			120 36
Balance in hands of Trustees . . .			$308 39

Library Fund.

Receipts:	Cash on hand, January 1, 1887 .		$3 44
	Interest on Investments . . .		445 24
	Donations and Sales of Duplicates, etc.		265 33
			$714 01
Disbursements:	Purchases of Books in 1887 .		670 99
Balance in hands of Trustees . . .			$43 02

Endowment Fund.

Receipts:	Interest on Investments, 1887 . .		$584 16
Disbursements:	Paid to Treasurer General Fund		584 16

General Fund.

Receipts:	Cash on hand, January 1, 1887 .		$190 67
	Annual Dues, 1887		4,655 00
	Donations		300 00
	Interest, Dividends, etc. . . .		616 68
	" Trustees Endowment Fund		584 16
			$6,346 51
Disbursements:	Loan to Real Estate . .	$500 00	
	General Expenses, Taxes, and Sundries for 1887 . .	5,744 35	6,244 35
Balance in hands of Treasurer . . .			$102 16

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